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Administration Backing Adds Prestige

Washington Teach-In Boosts Radical Peace Movement

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

Observers of the "peace" network in the United States have expressed alarm at the apparent success of the well-organized, much-publicized national "teach-in" movement, which reached its high point at the "teach-in" at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D.C., May 15.

There is little question that the teach-in has become a significant method of mobilizing public opinion since its birth on the University of Michigan campus March 24. At that time, over 3,000 students and teachers engaged in all-night sessions, largely to denounce President Johnson's foreign policy in Viet Nam. Since then, the teach-in movement —clothed with the respected robes of academe, but actually in the hands of the nation's radicals—has spread to more than 50 colleges and universities.

Prof. Hans Morgenthau of the University of Chicago leads off the May 15 teach-in in Washington with a slashing attack on President Johnson's Viet Nam policy.

The May 15 meeting in Washington, organized by the Inter-University Committee for a Public Hearing on Viet Nam, was the first time, however, that the teach-in gained a national forum and high-powered publicity in the communications media.

Beginning at 9 a.m. and ending shortly after midnight, the program included debates and panel sessions between supporters and opponents of the Administration's Vietnamese policy. More than 2,000 people attended the session and hundreds of thousands more throughout the country watched it on television or listened to it on radio.

The sponsors palmed off the proceedings on an unsuspecting public as a way of clarifying American policy on Viet Nam through spirited debate between representatives of the academic community and Administration spokesmen. But in the view of many, May 15, 1965, was the day the teach-in became a fully forged weapon of the radical American peace apparatus to be used continually for the purpose of paralyzing a tough, anti-Communist United States foreign policy.

Radical control of the Washington teach-in was astonishingly apparent. Among the tell-tale signs:

• Trained security experts spotted Communists among the organizers and in the audience.

• A number of witnesses saw teach-in staff members wearing buttons of the Communist-inspired W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, which look to Castro as the ideal revolutionary.

• The Inter-University Committee for a Public Hearing on Viet Nam, sponsor of the Washington meeting, recommended some curious literature for those interested in gathering knowledge about that Asian country. Two volumes mentioned were put out by the pro-Communist publishing houses of Marzani and Munsell, and International Publishers. The committee, strangely enough, refused to identify the literature with a Communist label. A book high up on the recommended list was *The Furtive War,* written by long-time Communist apologist Wilfred Burchett, special correspondent for the *National Guardian,* a publication cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist propaganda organ.

• Chief moderator for the final session, Barry Commoner, professor of botany at Washington University, St. Louis, went out of his way to read a telegram of congratulations sent to the teach-in organizers from French existentialist, Jean Paul Sartre. Sartre, who recently refused to come to the United States because of our involvement in Viet Nam, was quoted just last year in the New York *Times* as saying: "In the present East-West confrontation, my sympathies go undeniably to socialism and to what is called the Eastern bloc."

• The major anti-Administration speakers at the teach-in were also a tip-off to its leftward bent. Isaac Deutscher, a well-known Trotskyite, came all the way from England to address the Washington audience. Calling himself an "unrepentant Marxist," Deutscher said it was a "peculiarly unintelligent conception. . . to assume that Stalin or his successors were committed to world revolution," and that "It was the West that forced Stalin to destroy liberties in Eastern Europe."

• Another key character among the teach-in leaders was Prof. Seymour Melman. A sponsor of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Melman has supported demonstrations against civil defense in New York City. His works on unilateral disarmament were highly praised by the Communist *Worker* on June 9, 1963, as "constructive, involving no concessions to imperialist [i.e., non-Communist] objectives which are the actual cause of international tension."

• Still another major speaker was Marcus Raskin, also a part of the peace network. Raskin played a key role in getting out *The Liberal Papers,* a notorious handbook of appeasement which even the late President Kennedy disavowed. Some of the world solutions offered by the book include recognition of Red China and unilateral disarmament. Ironically, Raskin was McGeorge Bundy's hand-picked staff man on the National Security Council in 1961. Bundy, of course, is the President's top adviser on foreign policy.

• One abusive and bumptious speaker was Stanley Millet, a professor at Briarcliff College. Millet's sympathies were flagrantly anti-American. At one point the bearded professor said that "Terror on our side accounts for all that has happened in Viet Nam."

• Further indication of its radical-left nature was the support the session received from the Communists. The May 18 *Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A., praised the Washington teach-in and remarked: "The teach-in demonstrated that the academic world of America, led by the professors in this instance, is in revolt against McCarthyism in foreign policy." Moscow radio on May 16 played up the May 15 teach-in, saying "The majority demanded an immediate cessation of the war in Viet Nam and of the bombing of DRV [North Vietnamese] territory and a peaceful settlement which would put an end to the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia."

In spite of their left-wing character, teach-ins appear to be making headway, and the Washington gathering gave the movement its biggest success to date. Impartial observers give the following reasons for the good showing:

The radicals controlling the teach-in movement received a national forum, probably reaching over one million people. According to the teach-in sponsors, the program was carried to 129 colleges and universities on closed-circuit television and parts of it were also carried over at least 30 radio stations, including the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The National Educational Television network, with 91 affiliates, also televised major portions of the program. Parts also appeared on the regular TV networks.

The Washington session was also given special status by the Johnson Administration. Although he had to cancel at the last minute, McGeorge Bundy, the President's special advisor for national security affairs

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Dominican Republic: New Bay of Pigs?

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Interview with an Expert

Who Will Govern the Dominican Republic?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

If I were a statesman looking for a meaningful opinion about what goes on in the Dominican Republic, I would ask Peter Nehemkis, a Washington lawyer who has had an extensive experience in Latin America, to speak up. The reason is that Mr. Nehemkis is a nice combination of idealist, skeptic and indefatigable fact-grubber who stands above the factions.

He was a member of the group of professors and businessmen who, just prior to the election of President Kennedy, prepared a momentous report suggesting a Latin American Alliance for Progress. In 1962 he visited the Dominican Republic as a member of the OAS Observation Mission that was charged with watching the polling that resulted in the victory of Juan Bosch. He liked Bosch then, but he remembers thinking Bosch's promises were too big.

In between trips to South America for the Whirlpool Corp., Mr. Nehemkis made other stops in Santo Domingo. Bosch's performance as the first freely elected president of the island country left him cold. The man seemed afflicted with hubris, which is the classical Greek word for what Mr. Nehemkis calls "the insolence of irreverence." Bosch offended most of the important people who had supported his election. The names of some of these people have been prominent in the recent dispatches from Santo Domingo.

One of them was Gen. Antonio Imbert Barreras, the sole surviving member of the group of seven who ambushed the dictator Trujillo and killed him. Another was Peruvian-trained Captain—later General—Elias Wessin y Wessin, a young and scrupulously patriotic air force officer who, on one occasion, had saved the day for the Council of State that was set up early in 1962 to arrange for the election that Bosch later won with 60 per cent of the vote.

Nehemkis joins with an ex-State Department official, Paul Bethel, head of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, in thinking that Bosch got what was coming to him when his "resignation" as president, offered in a moment of pique in an unsuccessful attempt to get rid of Wessin y Wessin, was accepted somewhat irregularly by a general and a civilian member of the government. (This "resignation" has never been reported except by Nehemkis in a book published last fall.)

Bosch had tried to create a personal militia answerable to himself alone. He had attempted to gather all the workers of the Dominican Republic into a state-bossed labor union. He had driven many good men from government, but the "soft on communism" people remained. Finally, he had tried to start a war with Haiti on the flimsiest of pretexts in order to divert attention from his country's domestic difficulties.

What followed after Bosch's "resignation," which admittedly he did not sincerely mean, was pure tragedy. Donald Reid Cabral, the head of the junta that took over after Bosch's exile, was, in Peter Nehemkis's words, "a decent, incorruptible human being, the last best hope for the Dominican Republic." Reid tried to put the country on an austerity program, which annoyed the businessmen. He tried to purge the army of corruption. But it all became too much for him. Nobody seemed willing to work.

Last year Peter Nehemkis, in his book about Latin America, remarked that "in the world of mythology Dr. Juan Bosch is a martyr, sacrificed on the altar of democracy. But in the world of reality, his failure as a democratic leader handed Castro a bloodless victory." The danger is that too many in Washington are still willing to accept Bosch's martyrdom for real.

As for Castro's "bloodless victory," only the quick dispatch of the Marines to Santo Domingo by President Lyndon Johnson has prevented the Cuban tyrant from cashing in on it. But the Dominican Republic, says Mr. Nehemkis, is fated to become "the Congo of the Caribbean."

"There are no tools for 20th Century rule in the whole country," he says. "Caamano, the rebel chief, is a typical product of Trujillo decadence. He is a butcher who wiped out a whole village, as you will read in Bosch's own book. The only tradition in the republic is conspiracy. Bosch himself set this last conspiracy in motion; he couldn't wait until September for an election."

Looks as though the U.S. Marines and the OAS are fated to remain in Santo Domingo for a long time. That is, unless the Congo in the Caribbean is to fall to Castro.

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U. S. Marines and tanks patrol the streets of Santo Domingo.

Juan Bosch Is Naive On What Causes Reds

By MICHAEL PADEV in the Indianapolis *Star*

Juan D. Bosch, the Dominican political leader who masterminded, but failed to lead properly, the army revolt which led to the present troubles in Santo Domingo, has been denouncing the United States very bitterly in the past few days.

Bosch says that the U.S. "intervention" in Dominican affairs has "created more Communists in a week than the Russians, the Chinese and the Cubans could make in five years. Instead of stopping another Cuba, the U.S. troops will make another Cuba," Bosch says in anger. "They say there were 53 known Communists (in the rebel leadership). There are going to be 53,000 Communists in the Dominican Republic because of the U.S. Marine intervention and they will be U.S.-made Communists."

Juan D. Bosch was ousted in 1963 on charges he permitted Communists to infiltrate the government.

To say the least, this is a rather naive explanation of the way Communists are made—almost overnight, so to say. There were practically no Communists in Santo Domingo before the U.S. Marines landed, yet now there are at least 53,000 of them! Perhaps we should call such Communists "instant Reds"! If Communists were made that way, I suggest we don't have to fear the Communist danger much. All we have to do is to withdraw the Marines from Santo Domingo at once, and—presto—the instant Reds will automatically become white or at least pink within the minute.

But Communists are not made that simple way. Juan Bosch is talking pure nonsense when he suggests that the U.S. Marine landing in Santo Domingo or anywhere else creates "instant Reds." In putting forward such strange and untrue ideas about the growth of the Communist movement Bosch is only betraying his own complete ignorance of communism.

The tiny group of fanatically indoctrinated Communist leaders is, of course, the product of many years of special training and brainwashing. But I presume that Mr. Bosch would not include the "instant Reds" in that group. The group of "instant Reds," according to him, consists of people who make their minds up all of a sudden during the course of civil war disturbances. Their "conversion" is, in a way, a reaction against some development they can't control; in this case, presumably, the U.S. Marine landings.

It is true that a lot of people make their minds up very quickly what side to join in during civil war disturbances. In every country in the world, not excepting Latin America, such people will invariably join the band wagon of the winning side.

When the Dominican revolt started, the rebels were a small group. Their numbers grew as government troops appeared unable to crush the rebellion. And, characteristically, the rebels had the support of "the people" only in an area controlled by rebel arms. In other words, "the people" joined whoever was the winner.

The presence of the U.S. troops in the Dominican Republic, which the Dominicans see—quite rightly—as a guarantee against a Communist takeover, cannot and will not make any Communists, instant or otherwise. On the contrary—it can only encourage the anti-Communist Dominican political leaders and movements. Communists receive "popular" support only when they are winning a civil war battle by the force of arms.

The U.S. landing in Santo Domingo, having stopped a Communist military march to power, has dealt a crushing blow to the Dominican Communist movement.

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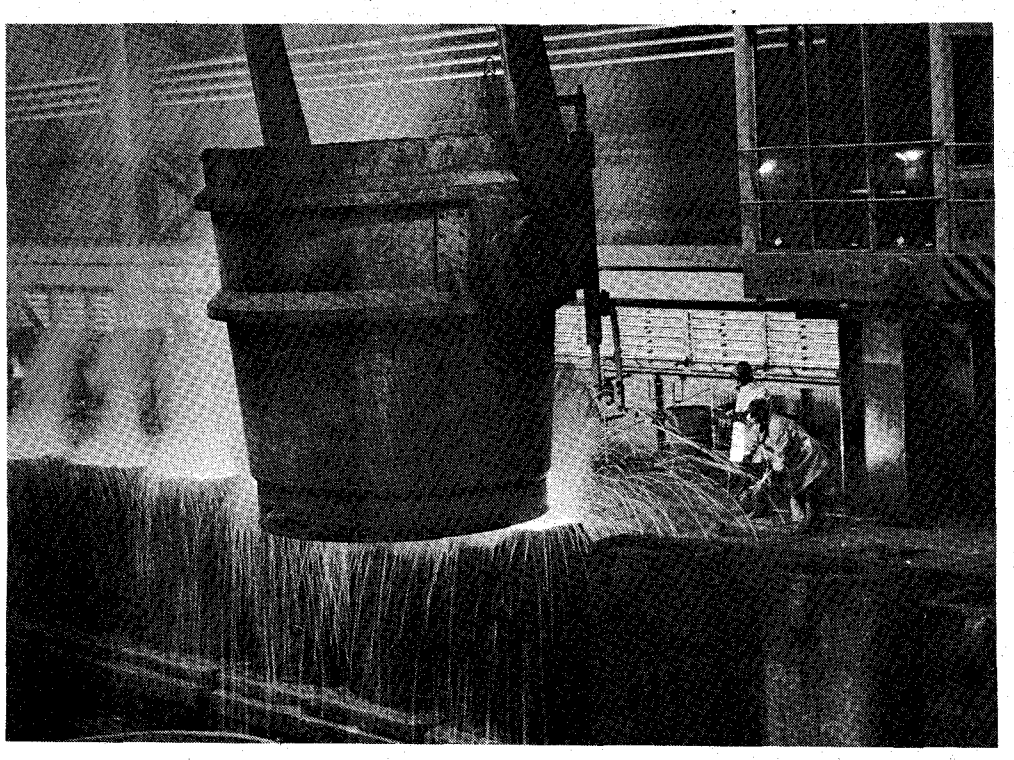

Pouring of ingots at the Oxygen Steelmaking Shop of U. S. Steel's Duquesne Works is one of the many varied operations of the steel industry.

U.S. Government Is Undertaking Subtle Steel Nationalization

By BARRY GOLDWATER

No American should look smugly at Great Britain's plan to renationalize 90 per cent of its steel industry. It not only can happen here, but in a way it is happening here. The method is far less controversial, but nonetheless effective.

When the government owns an industry it operates that industry, setting prices and wages and establishing production lines. In Great Britain, the politicians want to exercise that control directly. In this country, they can indirectly operate two-thirds of that control.

President Johnson has just shown us how. Not since Harry Truman took over the railroads or John Kennedy blackjacked the steel industry has a President so flatly told a great segment of the American business community that government, not the market place, is making the rules these days.

The President's announcement, virtually a fiat, that the steel companies can raise wages 3 per cent without raising prices was just one edge of his new anti-business sword. The other edge was to base this directive on figures which sharply contradict those of the steel companies.

In effect, Lyndon Johnson has just said that either the steel executives are liars or they are so dumb they don't really know the operating figures of their own business.

Part of Mr. Johnson's justification for his becoming president of U.S. Steel as well as President of the United States is the old chestnut about steel prices being the key to a stable economy.

Socialist-minded government economists year after year have rigged the books on this one. Their estimates of steel's impact on prices has ranged anywhere from 31 to 55 per cent. In short, they say, every time you pay a dollar more for anything, some 50 cents of that increase is because of steel prices.

There is ample objective evidence, notably a study made at Georgetown University in 1962, that these scare figures are straw men. By the time the computers and unbiased academicians got through with the ingredients of the problem it turned out that steel contributes to only about 8 per cent of the increase in the general price level.

This figure is hardly sound enough to justify the government taking over. To those who believe in a healthy economy, there is hardly anything, with a real matter of national security the only exception, that justifies government going into business.

The British situation is a case in point. Although the Socialist government now in power in Great Britain claims that economic, not ideological reasons are behind their plan, there is little reason to believe them. Their plan, for one thing, is significantly lacking in projections for capital improvements which are economically vital in this industry.

Most importantly, recent history flatly refutes the notion that nationalization works. Great Britain tried it before, then denationalized steel in hopes of pumping some life into an industry that bureaucracy was killing. Unfortunately, return of the industry to private ownership did not mean that bureaucratic controls were altogether lifted. As a result, the steel plants have remained a prime target of the ideologues.

The very same thing is true in this country. President Johnson's attempt to appear a friend of business is thinning out a bit. He has certainly gone a long, frank way toward proving he is not a friend.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

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VIET NAM CASUALTY—The New York *Times* has rapped the Johnson Administration for what it charged was outrageous news manipulation in Viet Nam. The paper in an editorial said that USIA had issued half-truths to the people, engaged in double-talk and deliberate distortion on Viet Nam information. "The credibility of the U.S. government has been one of the numerous casualties of the war in Viet Nam. Time after time high-ranking representatives of the government—in Washington and Saigon—have obscured, confused, or distorted news from Viet Nam, or have made fatuously erroneous evaluations about the course of the war, for public consumption."

The Church and Politics

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Los Angeles holds an election soon for its board of education, and one of the candidates has just been endorsed by the Board of Rabbis of Southern California. Which certainly violates, in spirit at least, the federal law barring tax-exempt religious institutions from engaging in political activity.

Now, I don't like to fight with the clergy, for they have a certain built-in advantage. If a member of the cloth attacks you, many of the faithful will pre-judge you as guilty; whereas if you attack him, you are, ipso facto, anti-religious. The best you can hope for is a draw, and you have to achieve a knock-out to get that.

For example, we have a Unitarian minister here who has embraced more Communist fronts than a dozen octopi could wrap their arms around; yet when asked to explain this coincidence by a House committee, he has invariably fallen back on the Fifth Amendment and declared he was being persecuted for his religious beliefs. And received sympathy on that score, too.

Nevertheless, someone has to explain to these misguided zealots that one of our proudest traditions is the complete separation of church and state; that there is a clear line of demarcation between the pulpit and the hustings and that anyone, klansman or minister, who would wipe out that line is nibbling like a termite at one of the basic pillars of the Republic. And when the temple falls, the clergy will go with it.

I agree fully that the minister is a voter and has the same right to endorse a candidate as the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker. But only as an individual, he has no right whatsoever to imply that his endorsement carries with it the spiritual blessing of the faith he represents.

And such intimation is, I suggest, a cynical usurpation of power and a betrayal of the trust of his communicants, many of whom hold political views different from his and would never grant him the right to speak on such matters for them. The weekly collections and the annual contributions are plainly given for religious and charitable purposes, not to further any candidate or party. When even a fraction of that money is used—if only for stationery—for political propagandizing, it is a palpable misuse of funds that a clergyman, above all, should not condone.

Let me, at the risk of redundance, reiterate my position. If the entire membership of the rabbinical board as individuals—I repeat, as individuals—had made the endorsement, that would have been their undisputed right. But when they put the official stamp of the board on that endorsement, it is to imply they have been to Sinai and speak for Jewry.

But, no matter what their pretensions, they speak only for themselves. If they will come out on the hustings, I guarantee to provide them with members of their own faith who will debate with them—men who oppose both uniformity of thought and the theocratic state—in support of the opposing candidate.

It will be remembered that the board of the National Council of Churches, which professes to speak for 40 million Protestants, has been demanding the admission of Red China into the United Nations for years. Yet overwhelmingly every poll of Protestants is against that stand. Who speaks for whom?

And last year the official publication of the United Church of Christ called on its two million members to repudiate Barry Goldwater at the polls. This blatant intrusion into politics was denounced by many prominent laymen and almost created a schism.

So strong was the reaction that the president of the church found it necessary to issue a statement to the effect that the editor of the journal spoke only for himself. But the money of the many dissenting communicants had nevertheless been used for the publication.

And that breach is not yet healed, I can testify. Not long ago the pastor of a local Church of Christ asked me to participate in a panel discussion before his flock on the question of the church's right to political activity. Afterward I asked him how his own members had voted in the election: about 60 per cent for Barry, he told me.

Who speaks for whom? Maybe shoemakers are not the only ones who should stick to their last.

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Freedom and Growth Under Right-To-Work

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Calling for repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act so labor unions can kill off right-to-work laws, which protect employes in making their own free choice for or against union membership, AFL-CIO President George Meany recently claimed the 19 states that have right-to-work laws are the most "backward" in the country. Obviously, he not only was incorrect in his statement but was ignoring factors involving climate, geography, population and history as well.

He was also ignoring these interesting facts: During the 1953-63 period, the number of non-agricultural employes in states with right-to-work laws rose 23.3 per cent, as compared with only 9 per cent in other states. This reflects new job opportunities. The three states with fastest growth were Arizona, Florida and Nevada, all with right-to-work laws. In 1955-65, workers in right-to-work states had their weekly earnings rise 46.8 per cent, while those in other states had an increase of only 42.8 per cent, according to Census Bureau figures.

Even if freedom didn't promote growth, we would choose freedom. But when freedom and growth go together, Americans should demand that President Lyndon B. Johnson not pay off the labor politicians by repealing Section 14b.

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NO SLOWDOWN—Although President Johnson asked Congress to appropriate an extra three-quarters of a billion dollars to carry out the war in Viet Nam, he still intends to push for his "Great Society" program with full speed. He affirmed this by saying, "We're not going to put anything off . . . No world problem must be allowed to divert us from building the 'Great Society' at home." Increased budget deficits were not mentioned.

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REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.) has trotted out the slide rule and reports that interest on the national debt is climbing at the rate of $22,000 per minute, $1.3 million per hour; $31.7 million per day; $11.6 billion per year.

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• California's "moderate" Republicans received a stunning setback last week when the political management firm of Spencer, Roberts and Associates agreed to accept Ronald Reagan as a client in his bid for governor. The firm had handled Nelson Rockefeller's primary campaign in the Golden State last year and Sen. Thomas Kuchel's re-election bid in 1962. Said liberal columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak: "So high is the reputation of Stu Spencer and Bill Roberts as political pros that Reagan's chance of widening his base of support enough to be nominated is increased immeasurably." One reason for the move: Kuchel has constantly temporized on whether to run for governor—primarily because of his fear that conservative Republicans in the state would cut him to pieces, remembering his refusal to support Barry Goldwater and Sen. George Murphy.

REAGAN

• *The Americans for Democratic Action is launching a drive to get workers for "two massive voter registration projects in the South." Working in conjunction with the Southern Christain Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, ADA contends it "will act as an arm of these organizations' drive to register and educate better than 250,000 Southern Negro voters in 'black belt' states from Mississippi to Virginia." ADA says it will serve as a clearing house for applicants and handle preliminary screening.*

• Republicans who try to read Goldwater or Goldwater supporters out of the party do so at the GOP's financial peril. Such, anyway, is the conclusion politicos are drawing from a recent study by Herbert E. Alexander of Princeton, N. J., director of the Citizens Research Foundation. He has just come up with a revealing paper demonstrating that Sen. Goldwater raised close to twice as much money as President Johnson in the last campaign and that Goldwater was probably able to reach more contributors in 1964 than Dwight Eisenhower did in 1952. Alexander also states that the Democrats received 69 per cent of all their individual contributions (aggregate $7.5 million) in amounts of at least $500. In contrast, the Republicans raised only 28 per cent of their total contributions (aggregate $13.2 million) from sums of $500 or more.

GOLDWATER

• *The Communist press gave rave reviews to the recent nationwide "teach-in" staged in Washington to debate U.S. policy on Viet Nam. The* Worker, *East coast Communist newspaper, headlined its front-page story: "LBJ POLICY CONDEMNED AT WASHINGTON TEACH-IN." The* People's World, *West coast party organ, also gave front-page coverage to the teach-in.*

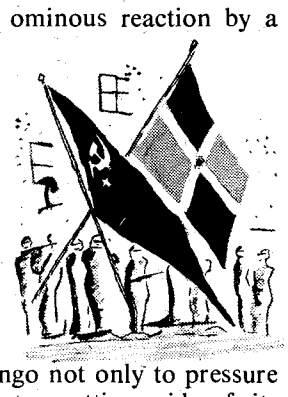
• Rep. James Utt (R.-Calif.) has asked President Johnson to declare the California farm belt a "disaster area" and provide $1 billion in emergency aid to growers and workers. Utt said the $1 billion in relief could be taken from unobligated foreign aid funds. He blamed Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz for the plight of California growers. Wirtz, he said, was responsible for the cancellation of the bracero program under which foreign nationals were admitted to the United States to work the fields. Crops valued in the millions are now rotting unpicked as domestic workers refuse to work the fields.

UTT

This Week in Washington

Dominican Policy Wobbles

"Another Bay of Pigs. It could turn into another Bay of Pigs." That was the ominous reaction by a former Latin diplomat in the early part of last week as the White House appeared to be undoing all the good it had previously done toward preventing a Communist take-over in the Dominican Republic.



Incredibly, a United States team headed by McGeorge Bundy, LBJ's chief foreign adviser, went to Santo Domingo not only to pressure the anti-Communist junta into getting rid of its strongest member, Gen. Antonio Imbert Barrera, but sought to install a close friend of radical-leftist Juan Bosch as the president of a coalition Dominican regime. The Bosch associate, Jose Antonio Guzman, had even come to the White House on a secret mission for consultations with American officials.

Guzman's selection by the United States was astonishing not only because of his close alliance with Bosch, the hero of the Communist-led rebel movement, but because of his role as director of the Dominican Republic's agricultural bank after the initial Bosch regime collapsed. Under Guzman's direction, the bank suffered large-scale embezzlements and Guzman himself was implicated.

Nor is Guzman's selection considered the only U.S. blunder. Jules Dubois, the Chicago *Tribune's* excellent reporter on Latin American affairs, has ticked off a number of other near-fatal mistakes by the Administration. Reporting from on the spot in Santo Domingo, he writes:

• The United States concurred in and contributed to the obtaining of a precarious cease-fire through the Organization of American States just as the anti-Communist junta was ready "to crush the Communist-dominated rebels."

• The shocking earlier attempt by the United States to dump Gen. Wessin y Wessin, the anti-Communist military leader in the army. "Had he been dropped, the entire Dominican army would have been demoralized beyond repair."

• The United States blocked "the immediate defeat of the Communists by preventing the employment of two-thirds of the fire-power of the Dominican armed forces—the air force and the navy."

One Latin observer insists that the "appeasement" in favor of Bosch came more from the White House this time than from the State Department, whose chief Latin American adviser is Thomas Mann, considered a tough anti-Communist. Mann, however, was part of the Bundy mission to pressure the junta into accepting Guzman.

Other observers see the long arm of that far-left group, the Americans for Democratic Action, and its former chairman Vice President Hubert Humphrey behind our action. The ADA savagely attacks America's attempt to prevent a Communist takeover in the Dominican Republic by sending in the Marines, and it is also a strong promoter of the Latin "democratic left" which includes Juan Bosch.

The ADA has curried favor with Bosch's friends, including Munoz Marin, ex-governor of Puerto Rico; former president Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, and Jose Figueres of Costa Rica. These three were summoned to Washington after the revolt erupted to confer about the problem with Humphrey. The resolutions they proposed were heavily weighted in favor of Bosch. (Betancourt, in fact, is godfather to Bosch's daughter—which may explain Venezuela's reluctance to side with us at the Organization of American States.)

"History," recalls Jules Dubois, "is thus repeating itself. During the fateful days of April 17-19, Munoz and Figueres made similar appearances in Washington. Both strongly urged the late President Kennedy not to use the might of the United States to support the Bay of Pigs brigade."

Dubois might also have added that Figueres, Marin and Betancourt were also instrumental in selling the Eisenhower Administration the idea that Castro was not a Communist.

The American mistakes, when counted, appeared monumental, but there were indications last week that LBJ might pull through in spite of his disastrous policy. The Dominican Republic's anti-Communist junta, rejecting American advice, seemed on the verge of crushing the pro-Communist rebellion, even with all the impediments this Administration has put in its way.

Lindsay: The Liberal's Heart Throb

Liberal Republicans, jubilant over the entrance of Rep. John V. Lindsay into New York's mayoralty race, see this move as the beginning of a drive that could wind up with Lindsay in the White House and the liberals recapturing control of the Republican party.

If Lindsay defeats Democratic incumbent Robert Wagner, he would, the liberals figure, be catapulted into the national limelight, with a good chance of gaining the Republican presidential nomination in 1968. Should he lose the mayoralty contest, but make a close race of it, the liberals would then try to persuade Republicans to nominate a progressive GOP presidential candidate. Using Lindsay as an example, they would argue that only a liberal Republican can hope to win in the big cities with large Democratic majorities. (In New York City, Democrats outnumber Republicans 3 to 1.)

Predictably, the New York press has erupted into an orgy of Lindsay adulation. In one of her more frenzied moods, columnist Harriet Van Horne insisted with breathless passion that feminine-charmer Lindsay has "a quality all but impossible to define. But a reading of history suggests that Thomas Jefferson had it. And the young Melbourne . . . Do the Republicans realize their good fortune?"

Cooler political heads, however, are not so certain about the New Yorker's intellectual assets and they are still less certain of the possibility of a Lindsay take-over of the Republican party, even assuming he trounces Wagner. They reason that Lindsay is far too liberal for the party to embrace him and point to the following evidence:

• The base of the Republican party has moved from the liberal East to the conservative West and Midwest; it is doubtful the Republican party nationally, in the foreseeable future, would accept a presidential candidate who sports the highest Americans for Democratic Action rating of any GOP congressman (84 per cent liberal).

• Lindsay is the leader of the factional Wednesday Club, a group of some 20 liberal House Republicans, mostly from the East coast, which often bucks the regular GOP leadership—even on crucial procedural votes. The non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* notes that on 120 roll calls in the 88th Congress (1963-64) Lindsay voted against the majority of his party 48 per cent of the time, a record exceeded only by ultra-liberal fellow New Yorker Rep. Seymour Halpern. In 1961, 1963 and again this year, Lindsay voted to pack the House Rules Committee with liberals, votes which have helped considerably to wreck GOP chances of stopping New Frontier and "Great Society" spending measures.

• Lindsay would also be vulnerable on the anti-Communist issue. He has consistently been in the forefront of the drive to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This year he was the only Republican who joined 57 liberal Democrats in voting for forcing open hearings on HCUA appropriations, a move which would probably have halted HCUA investigations for several months. The campaign for open hearings was led in the Congress by current ADA National Chairman Don Edwards (D.-Calif.); the prime non-congressional advocate of these hearings was Frank Wilkinson, an identified Communist.

• Like Wagner, Lindsay has also been a supporter of the scandal-ridden Mobilization for Youth program (MFY). Investigations last year demonstrated

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this New York City group was infiltrated with radicals and Communists. MFY, in addition to promoting rent strikes and advocating militant action against government officials, has also had as one of its gentler activities a campaign to register voters in highly Democratic areas.

• Sources close to the New Yorker (who refused to support Goldwater in 1964 and seldom stresses his Republican label) now say Lindsay will actually name a Democrat as a running mate. Should he win by doing so, he would find it difficult to persuade the political pros that he won as a Republican.

• In keeping with the "fusion" makeup of the slate, there will be no Republican citywide mayoral campaign headquarters. Lindsay's campaign will be run by a "citizens' committee" rather than under the GOP label.

Hence the belief that Lindsay, whatever happens, is not a likely candidate to take over the essentially conservative Republican party.

LBJ's Labor Message

Readers who saw the Victor Riesel column in the March 27 *Human Events* could hardly have been surprised by the content of the President's labor message. Riesel, reporting the details of a closed-door session in Johnson's office, revealed that the President had promised labor leaders he would include the demand for repeal of Taft-Hartley clause 14b (the right-to-work provision); that he would seek extension of coverage of the minimum wage law to additional millions, and that he would push for double time for overtime, but would not ask for a shorter work week.

The Riesel revelations, in fact, were precisely what the President came up with.

Politicos in the Capital are not at all certain the President will get what he wants, however. There are still strong indications that the right-to-work clause can be saved, and Johnson, it is noted, did not make a forceful plea for its repeal. (Polls by both pro and anti right-to-work groups show members of Congress almost evenly split.)

One argument against repeal that appears to be making headway is that if 14b is eliminated, the unions can divert into political campaigns the enormous sums it now spends on fighting right to work. This is a persuasive line of reasoning among lawmakers of different political complexion, for even liberals are known to be wary of labor's increasing power over the electoral process. While liberals usually want the same thing as labor, they still don't want to feel as if labor is forcing them into any particular position.

The business community, predictably, is not at all pleased with the other areas of the President's message, either.

W.P. Gullander, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, has spoken out sharply: "The President's recommendations all seem to add up to higher costs and thus put America at a disadvantage in world markets. At a time when American industry is making every effort to cooperate with the President in trying to solve the U.S. balance-of-payments problem, higher costs unquestionably make the task of meeting competition from abroad more difficult."

Gullander also said the President's proposals "would make it more difficult for the U.S. economy to create the jobs needed to provide increasing employment."

Specifics of the President's proposals: it would (1) Repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. (2) Extend the $1.25 minimum wage and overtime provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act to 4.5 million more workers, including 1.5 million in retailing, 175,000 in laundries, 275,000 in hotels and motels, 425,000 in restaurants, 890,000 in hospitals, 87,000 in logging, 75,000 in motion picture theaters, 100,000 cab drivers, 250,000 in construction and 650,000 in other industries. (3) Require double wages for all hours a week worked over 48 in the first year after it is enacted (the cut-off would be reduced to 45 hours in three yearly steps).

(4) Recommend a congressional study of a hike in the minimum wage rate (LBJ's opinion: "As average wages rise, the minimum wage level should be increased periodically"). (5) Extend unemployment insurance to five million more workers, including, for the first time, workers on farms which average 300 man days of hired labor a quarter. (6) Require states to abide by federal unemployment insurance standards or lose part of the employers' credit against the federal unemployment payroll tax. (7) Establish a permanent system of 26 weekly federal payments to workers who had exhausted state payments. The added costs would be financed out of payroll taxes.

Goldwater's Southern Strategy

From no less an authority than John M. Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, comes word that Sen. Barry Goldwater's emphasis on winning the South to Republicanism has paid off handsomely for the GOP. This revelation from a top-flight Democratic party strategist has dealt a sharp setback to liberal Republicans who have set out to discredit Goldwater's "Southern strategy."

The "progressives" have been deriding it, of course, because they realize that as the GOP develops a Southern base, the more conservative will be the Republican party on a national scale.

Bailey's words could hardly have been music to far-left Republicans. He told some 500 Democrats gathered in Atlanta that he had talked with leading Democrats across the South since the November election when Goldwater picked up five Southern states—and they were all talking of a surging Republican party.

"All of them told me," Bailey continued, "that the lesson of the 1964 presidential election is clear. The day of the one-party South is over. Democrats must now start running against Republicans, rather than other Democrats . . .

"The day when all Republicans wanted from the South was some electoral votes is over. Now they are after every public office from the courthouse to the Capitol."

Bailey warned fellow Democrats that rebuilding the Democratic party in the South wouldn't be easy, but he suggested that it could be done through LBJ's civil rights bill—an argument that confirmed the belief of a number of politicians that LBJ's bill was primarily a political gimmick.

In hinting that Southern Democrats must now go after the Negro vote, Bailey said: "I just hope that as a political party we will have the foresight and intelligence to prepare for and implement the changes the voting rights bill will bring."

Reds in Campus Riots

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has revealed that 43 subversives—including five faculty members—were involved in the tumultuous "free speech" riots that rocked the University of California at Berkeley last fall.

In testimony released on May 17 by the House Appropriations subcommittee, the nation's top law enforcement officer disclosed, too, that leaders of the Communist party have greatly stepped up their program to recruit young people and to "place party leaders on college campuses."

Other highlights of the Hoover testimony:

• Communist party big-wigs are now engaged in a nationwide campaign to enlist new members from the Negro community. Leading young comrades will be dispatched to the South this summer "to work with civil rights organizations." There is "clear-cut evidence" that the Communist party "has been directing and urging the increased participation by its adherents in the racial movement."

• The East-West cultural exchange program affords Soviet intelligence agents unexcelled opportunities to collect information about military and industrial centers throughout the United States. Every scientific delegation arriving in this country contains at least one full-time KGB officer who is in charge of intelligence operations and at least half of the Soviet nationals sent to this country to encourage East-West trade are "known or suspected to be actually connected with the Soviet intelligence services."

CAPITOL CAMERA

• *States' rights took another beating last week in a flurry of congressional legerdemain on LBJ's anti-poverty program. Two weeks ago the House Education and Labor Committee voted to eliminate the veto power of state governors over "community action" programs. Last week the same committee reversed itself and restored the veto provision—with a hitch: The Office of Economic Opportunity director (alias Sargent Shriver) would have the power to override a governor's veto of any program in his state. The committee was not specific in saying what considerations would prompt nullification of a veto except to say that vetoes which are "arbitrary, influenced by political considerations or based on racial prejudice" would be overruled.*

• Sen. Winston Prouty (R.-Vt.) has charged that LBJ's role as the "peace candidate" during the 1964 campaign may have encouraged the Communists' recent boldness. "Throughout the campaign, the Democratic candidate was presented as the man who would speak and act for peace, the man who would bring old enemies together under the sheltering sweep of his long Texas arm, where his honeyed words of persuasion would soften the flinty hearts of those poor, misguided Communists."

PROUTY

• *Medicare may be in for a rough time, even if it passes. Five state medical associations in the past two weeks have called upon their members to refuse to participate in the Medicare program and several more are expected to follow suit. The five are Texas, Florida, Arizona, Louisiana and Ohio. The fountainhead of the movement is the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, 195 N. Wabash, Chicago, Ill. The exponents of "non-participation" claim they are not at all engaged in a strike, stressing that non-participating physicians who continue to practice private medicine will still treat their patients.*

• Rep. Glenn Andrews (R.-Ala.) has labeled the community action section of the Administration's "poverty package" a "blueprint for revolution." Instead of preparing the poor through education to meet the economic challenge of today, Andrews charged, "the poverty program established a bloc-by-bloc framework for political exploitation of the poor by political 'ward heelers' under the name of community action."

ANDREWS

• *The Audubon County (Iowa) Republican Central Committee has accused LBJ of "brazen vote buying" in sending federal flood relief funds to areas in the state untouched by rampaging waters. The committee said it could find "no evidence whatsoever of a major disaster having occured in this county in recent months" and said the presidential declaration was an "insult to the people living in Iowa counties who have experienced major disasters in recent months."*

PASSMAN SPEECH REPRINTS AVAILABLE

"'Great Society' Brings Galloping Socialism", a speech by Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.) appeared on the front page of **Human Events** last week. Demands for reprints have been so great that we have now made them available, folded to fit business-size envelopes.

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Poverty 'Aid' Comes to Gum Springs

From the Chicago *Tribune*

A reader of the *Wall Street Journal* has put some isolated facts together and come up with an astonishing picture of what is happening to Gum Springs, Va., as a result of its occupation by anti-poverty troops under the command of Sargent Shriver.

From a *Journal* editorial, James G. English of Whittier, Calif., learned that Gum Springs has been allotted $74,000 in the first year for its war against poverty, and that $54,000 of this is for salaries.

From Mr. Shriver's anguished reply to the editorial, Mr. English learned that Gum Springs is "one of the poorest communities in the nation"; that the average family income is below $3,000; and that the $54,000 is made up of "salaries for eight professionals at an average wage of less than $4,200 a year and of salaries for nonprofessional aides —recruited from Gum Springs' poor— at an average of less than $1,600 a year."

With a little figuring, Mr. English determined that the anti-poverty detachment in Gum Springs must include at least 12 "nonprofessional aides," along with the eight professionals. After considerable research, he was able to learn from a Rand McNally atlas that Gum Springs had a population of 40 at the last census.

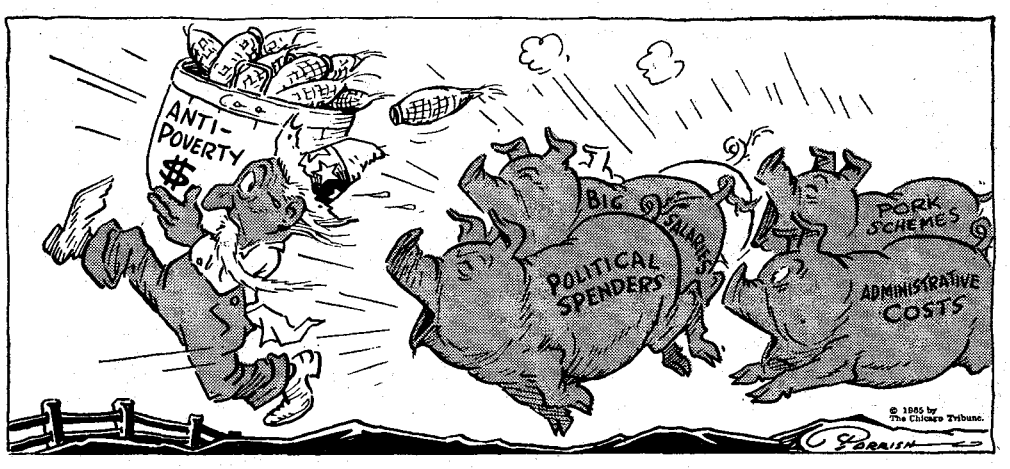
From the sheriff's office in nearby Goochland (he couldn't make contact with a telephone in Gum Springs) he learned that Gum Springs is "just a wide spot in the road with a post office and a store" and 10 or 15 families living within a mile or so.

Mr. English concluded from all this that "the Office of Economic Opportunity has on its payroll 20 persons . . . servicing the community which, according to the figures available, consists of 40 persons in 10 to 15 families."

It may be calculated also that the OEO is spending $74,000 a year in a community which has a total income of less than $45,000—and that this money, if divided among the 15 families, would yield each of them a total of $8,000 a year.

We should all live in Gum Springs.

SEED CORN



Excise Tax Cuts Are Nice, But—

From the New York *Daily News*

Obviously happy as a clam, President Johnson yesterday sent Congress a message calling for $4 billion worth of excise (sales tax) cuts, most of them effective July 1 and January 1.

The tax reductions on automobiles and air conditioners would be retroactive to May 15, so as not to slow down current sales of those articles.

This is pleasant news, and it seems likely that Congress will buy the bulk if not all of the LBJ package.

But how about proportionate cuts in U.S. government spending? We find no mention of that in this message— and because we find none, we're worried. A private citizen can't live forever beyond his income, and neither, we are convinced, can a government.

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SEN. WAYNE MORSE (D.-Ore.) continues to be the darling of the Communists at the moment. The Reds at a rally in New York's Union Square recently displayed this Morse quotation on a giant placard near the speakers' platform: "No Administration, either Democratic or Republican, can excuse the unjustifiable killing of American boys in South Viet Nam."

Continued from Page One

Washington Teach-In Boosts Radical Peace Movement

and a former Harvard dean, had agreed to attend, thereby giving the meeting—and the entire movement—a special prestige and prominence it had not previously had.

And though Bundy wasn't there, the conference at the Sheraton was participated in by top Administration personnel, including State Department policy planning chieftain Walt W. Rostow and one of the Policy Planning Council's top staff men, Paul Kattenburg.

In the words of the New York *Times'* Max Frankel: "Thus it was only with the blessing of the Administration they condemn for secrecy that the teachers and scholars were suddenly thrust before a national audience and given the decade's greatest propaganda bargain— national impact for an investment of $20,000 to $30,000."

A sly stunt pulled by the leaders of this national teach-in hoaxed both Administration participants and teach-in sponsors and resulted in a propaganda coup for the "let's withdraw" crowd.

A letter was sent April 30 to potential sponsors by a University of Michigan anthropology professor, Marshall D. Sahlins. The letter claimed: "Your endorsement then constitutes only a conviction that questions of war and peace should be brought to responsible public debate. It does not constitute a subscription to partition, unification, U.S. withdrawal or any other particular scheme for settling the conflict in Viet Nam."

In actuality, however, the teach-in leaders maneuvered the night session into a sort of "consensus meeting" in which they picked six bitterly anti-Administration people to offer "proposals for possible solutions in Viet Nam" to be "placed before the meeting by participants in the day's discussions." The six, including Prof. Hans Morgenthau and Seymour Melman, offered a variety of solutions ranging from a neutralist Southeast Asia to allowing South Viet Nam to fall to the Communists. Morgenthau's solution was simple: Let Ho Chi Minh win.

No Administration spokesman was selected to speak even though the special printed program said that "Administration spokesmen will be asked to comment on each of these alternative approaches." The organizers tried to make it look as though an American retreat in Viet Nam were the consensus of the gathering despite the fact that a significant number of participants and audience approved of no such thing. This tactic was vigorously opposed at the meeting by an aide to Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.).

The case for a tough policy against the Communists, moreover, was not altogether helped by those who spoke for the Administration.

University of California Prof. Robert Scalapino, who substituted for McGeorge Bundy, put up what was in many respects an excellent defense of United States participation in the fight in Viet Nam. But he largely scuttled his arguments by outlining a program which the peace forces welcomed.

He said it was a good thing that the United States no longer looks at neutralism as "immoral," called for a "neutral, non-aligned Asia" and suggested opening up new channels to Red China. Scalapino also indicated that the Soviet presence in Hanoi was beneficial to the West, conveniently overlooking the fact that Russia's vast military and economic aid to the North Vietnamese was helping to kill U.S. soldiers. Instead of stressing the systematic terror the Communists have used against the villagers in the south, he said terrorism was a product of both sides.

If Scalapino vacillated, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., a featured speaker billed as pro-Administration, was a catastrophe. Schlesinger called Ike's intervention into Viet Nam a "mistake," said he welcomed the suspension of the bomb raids because our air strikes might risk a Chinese reaction and claimed we should send the Marines now in the Dominican Republic over to Viet Nam (thus implying we were aggressors in Latin America, if not in Viet Nam).

The Harvard historian, dressed in pink-striped shirt and dark bow-tie, castigated the State Department's "white paper" which documents North Vietnamese subversion of the South. He also aimed this sharp sally at the President: He contended he could forgive LBJ, a Texan, for saying something about "saving freedoms around the world." "Surely, we would like to do that," he claimed, "if we could and if we knew what freedom is."

In some people's opinion the strongest supporter of a comparatively tough position was Walt W. Rostow, long considered a soft-on-Soviet adviser. Rostow was the only major Administration spokesman to dwell on the terrorist activities of the North Vietnamese Communists. Though soft-spoken, he made it clear that the Communists had mounted an operation "in cold blood" and that it was as necessary to halt the Communists in Viet Nam today as it was to halt Hitler in the 1930s.

But the State Department's policy planning chieftain still revealed he believed in a certain soft-approach to communism. He said we should "passionately" seek agreement with the Soviets and that we must "build bridges" whereby Red nations can be brought into the world community.

Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., Harvard professor and former White House advisor, spoke at the teach-in.

Lyndon Johnson is in a sorry fix, suggested one strong anti-Communist in the audience, if Schlesinger, Scalapino and Rostow are the "anchor men" for a tough anti-Communist position.

How much effect does the teach-in movement have on foreign policy?

One result of their frenetic activities, the teach-in sponsors and enthusiasts believe, has been a decrease in the public support for the Administration's policy in Viet Nam as registered by the latest Gallup poll.

They also believe the Administration has progressively weakened its oppostion to a Viet Nam settlement. The President, they stress, has gone from a "nothing to discuss" policy to an "unconditional discussions" policy. Johnson originally said he would call off the bombing in the north only when the Reds ceased their aggression, but recently he temporarily halted the bombing despite the fact that the Reds were still pursuing their aggression.

Significantly, according to teach-in spokesmen, the bombing ceased just two days before the Washington conference began. The timing, some feel, may have been designed to placate the rampaging radicals who control the teach-in movement. If so, the teach-in has become a powerful weapon in the arsenal of the "peace" apparatus.

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TREACHERY TO FILL A BOOK— "A fully documented study of nearly 1,000 Soviet treaties . . . showed that the Soviet Union 'had broken its word to virtually every country to which it ever gave a signed promise.' Even in our dealings with the Soviets we have experienced enough treachery to fill a book. Since 1943 . . . they have violated most of some 40 agreements involving specific promises."—Gen. Thomas S. Power in his book *Design for Survival*

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"MY CHILDREN, remember this. Oppressive government is fiercer than a tiger!"—Confucius

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Must Police Unions

Equal Job Opportunity Post Puts FDR Jr. in a Political Hot Seat

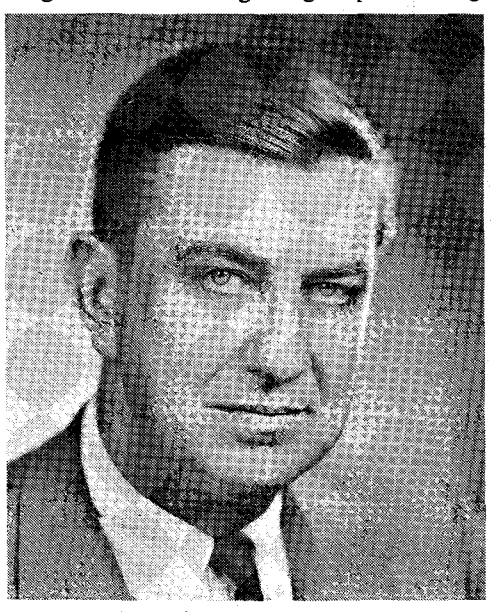
By VICTOR RIESEL

Many insiders see a second Franklin Delano Roosevelt on the road to political stardom. And many see him heading for the political "sticks."

He, himself, was not certain after he finished talking with Bill Moyers, one of President Johnson's top talent scouts, on a recent afternoon. Moyers had just told FDR Jr. that LBJ wanted him to become chairman of the new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

This is more than a politically red hot potato. It is a white hot sizzling ingot. For, no matter how diplomatic the EEOC's new chairman will be, his new job means he will have to ride herd hard on thousands of local unions. Nor will he have much time to set his new "Fair Employment Commission" in smooth operation.

July 2nd is the law's mandatory deadline for launching action. There will be tremendous pressure from hundreds of Negro and civil rights groups seeking



Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.

action at a minute past midnight at deadline time.

These organizations will demand that Franklin D. Roosevelt almost immediately open the books of thousands of unions, make tens of thousands of jobs available and do battle in the courts if he finds resistance.

Roosevelt, as chairman of the new commission, will have the power to do all this. But the conflicts will rage across the land—especially in the burgeoning Northern cities and their suburbs.

It is President Johnson's thought that only a man with FDR Jr.'s name and family tradition, only a man raised in the New Deal, which virtually created the labor movement, could handle the job and be a political lightning rod.

Thus it was not the President's intent to start FDR Jr. on the road to the New York gubernatorial chair and perhaps to higher realms.

The new commission, which comes into existence on July 2nd under the civil rights law, is the first in federal history to enact the power to force the unions to open their books, their hiring halls, their training systems, to all regardless of color, race, sex, religion or national origin.

Whoever attempts to enforce such an edict will not be very popular with the local leaders in many states. And it is the local leaders, often far more than the widely-known national labor chiefs, who are the real political powers.

The local officials are the men who authorize the spending of money and provide the manpower and caravans on the precinct levels. There the political races are really run—and won.

But Franklin Roosevelt agreed to step down as under secretary of commerce and take the Fair Employment Commission chairmanship, though he knew it meant showdown after showdown.

The law he must enforce says that no union shall commit the following:

- Discriminatory exclusion or expulsion from membership.
- Discriminatory segregation or classification of membership or referral practices which tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect employe status.
- Causing or attempting to cause an employer to discriminate.
- Discriminate on any grounds against those seeking to enter the joint labor-management training and apprenticeship systems and schools.

This means that all the systems which have been devised to get around the federal ban on the closed shop will be ripped right open. This means that the most highly-paying construction jobs will be open to all comers—Negroes and whites alike who have not been able to get into craft unions.

This will not be easily accomplished by FDR and his five-man commission. There will be token compliance and even that will be slow. The attitude is best summed up in a memorandum prepared by the influential labor lawyer J. Albert Wool, counsel for the AFL-CIO:

" . . . Mathematical equality is not the goal of the bill," he wrote during the days before the act became law. "Neither is the righting of old wrongs by the process of perpetrating new ones.

"The bill looks to the future, not the past, and does not endeavor to discriminate against whites tomorrow because Negroes were discriminated against yesterday.

"If members of one race, because of superior skill, greater experience, higher seniority or any other legitimate employment qualifications should wind up with a disproportionately large number of jobs on a particular project, this would not constitute a violation . . ."

This viewpoint will not be accepted by those who have been shouting for action. There will be angry debates, picketing, sit-downs.

And FDR Jr. will be in the middle.

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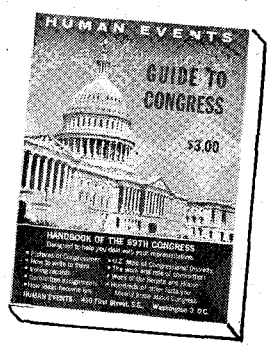

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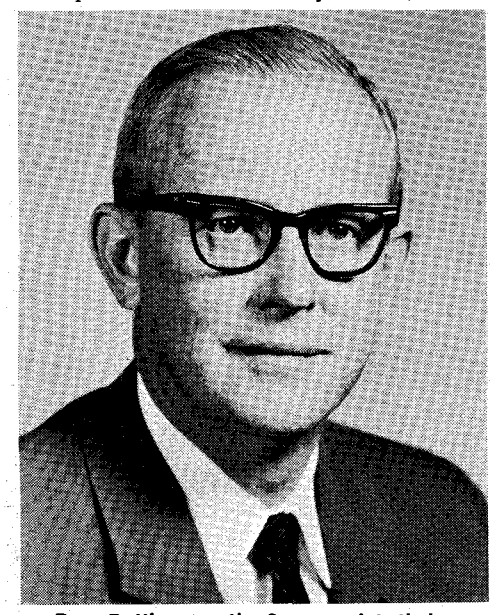
Government by Demonstration?

By REP. JIM BATTIN (R.-Mont.)

Too many Americans today seem willing to substitute a consensus for their conscience. The trend, as reported daily by newspapers, TV and radio, of demonstrations by students and others against U.S. action in Viet Nam and other government actions and policies reflects an attitude contrary to the American concept of individualism.

We now have not only marches but sit-ins, lie-ins, bonfire burnings of draft cards, heckling of guest speakers and even a teach-in. A university professor recently conducted a teach-in against our policies in Viet Nam and then was appointed to administer a half-million-dollar federal grant to the college. At least one policy of our government pleased him.

W. Averell Harriman, U.S. ambassador-at-large, was repeatedly interrupted during a talk at Cornell University on American policies and goals in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic. His speech was marred by hisses, boos



Rep. Battin says the Communists thrive on breakdowns in American law and order.

and repeated shouts of "liar" as he told some 1,500 that the Soviet Union is working to convince Communist parties in Latin America and elsewhere that it is vigorous in its support to revolution. Harriman became so irritated that he asked students near the podium, "How many of you are Communist?" At least a half-dozen hands were raised. About 150 of them staged a sit-in after custodians turned off the lights.

At a gathering of the Communist hierarchy in New York recently, their legislative director, Arnold Johnson, claimed much credit for "our people" in mounting the April 17 march on Washington in protest of U.S. action in Viet Nam.

A government team made a 10-day swing through Midwestern campuses in an attempt to learn just what the student attitude is toward U.S. foreign policy and why. Hecklers at the University of Wisconsin denied the leader of the group, a foreign service expert, the opportunity of explaining the government's side of the story.

A group of professors making a study of the problems say students seek freedom to discuss issues of their own choosing, to hear the most radical and controversial speakers, to speak out against university policies, and to participate in deciding those policies.

The Communists openly take great delight in such break-downs in law and order as occurred on the University of California campus at Berkeley. Agitation and infiltration of student groups is a Communist priority and one of their major weapons in their cold war of world conquest. In Latin American colleges, Communist students have the sanctuary of the campus against arrest even for armed terrorism as demonstrated in Venezuela.

Following the Berkeley riots, the president of the University of Maryland, Dr. Wilson H. Elkins, made that university's position clear. Situations such as those at Berkeley, Elkins told the annual convocation at his school, stem from small groups which flout regulations, oppose any authority and confuse freedom with licenses to do as they wish. His own administration, he added, takes the following course:

"It encourages academic freedom but does not associate this principle with any right of students to determine academic or nonacademic requirements. . . . This university believes that respect for authority and law is essential to the development of good citizenship and that insidious erosion and sometimes outright defiance of authority is a dangerous trend in our society.

"It seems clear that if any student or group of students is allowed to seize power in the name of freedom of speech, then the university should close its doors before rigor mortis sets in." The Maryland student body gave Dr. Elkins a standing ovation.

Let us hope that other American universities will follow his lead.

Students?

By Reg Manning
Arizona Republic Staff Artist

WHEN DO YOU FIND TIME TO STUDY ?
BAN THE BOMB! NEGOTIATE WITH THOSE NICE RED
AMERICA IS WRONG
MARCH AND DEMONSTRATE ANY TIME FOR ANYTHING
STOP KILLING
GET OUT of VIETNAM
PEACE
UNO WHO
REG MANNING

Courtesy Arizona *Republic*

LBJ Proposes New Federal Pay Raises

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

President Johnson recently sent to Congress a message proposing (a) further increases in the pay of the government's civilian employes; (b) further increases in the pay of service personnel; and (c) an entirely new principle for handling certain pay adjustments in the future.

He is right on the question of principle, and he is right (if inadequate) on the matter of military pay. But he has a lot of convincing to do on the matter of boosting the pay of many civilian employes.

On the merits of this last proposal, the taxpayers are entitled, as the lawyers say, to demand strict proof thereof.

The new principle urged by the President is divided into two parts. He first proposes to establish "permanent mechanism for impartial review at four-year intervals of the structure and inter-relationships of all government salary systems."

Following such reviews, the President would be authorized to propose salary changes for "top positions" in the executive, legislative and judicial branches; and these changes would go into effect automatically unless disapproved by either house of the Congress within 60 days.

Second, the President proposes to recommend certain other changes in salary schedules (presumably of a selective nature) in between the quadrennial reviews, and these too would go into effect automatically at a given date, unless disapproved by the Congress.

The principle here is sound. As a general proposition, the Congress ought not to concern itself with the details of federal pay scales. It is the job of Congress to authorize a certain function of government, and once this function has been authorized, a sum sufficient appropriated for the purpose, the executive ought properly to have room to turn around in.

The President's approach, startling as it may appear at first glance, would relieve the Congress of constant pressure and embarrassment, and to a considerable degree would exclude the delicate question of federal pay rates from the political arena.

Neither can one quarrel, except as a matter of degree, with Mr. Johnson's proposal to grant a 4.8 per cent average raise to uniformed personnel with more than two years of service. As Gen. Omar Bradley observed, in dissenting as a member of the President's study group, the recommendation falls short of equity.

Soldiers and sailors do not work a 40-hour week; they do not have opportunities to shift overnight into private employment; their potentially hazardous duties cannot be readily compared with the work of civilian employes, whether public or private. The recommended pay raise is not enough—even when all fringe benefits have been given full account—adequately to compensate the officers and enlisted men of our armed forces.

For the roughly 2.454 million civilian employes of the federal government, Mr. Johnson asks an average increase of 3 per cent, to become effective next January. Such an increase is justified by his study panel only in the most vague and general terms. No supporting evidence is offered.

The new schedules proposed by Mr. Johnson would start the typical clerk-typist-secretary at $4,615 a year, and raise her in 10 years to $6,010. A very junior field executive, in the government's general schedule, 9, would start at $7,445 and go in 10 years to $9,695. The typical mail carrier, with no more than a high school education, would start at $5,505 in grade 5 of the postal field service, and go up in 12 annual steps to $7,540. When these postal salaries are compared to the salaries paid school teachers and college instructors, the picture becomes ridiculous.

From one end of the country to another, private employers and public administrators know the impact of these federal salary scales. State and local governments struggle to hold their career people against the lure of federal salaries and perquisites beyond their power to offer.

Every American taxpayer can agree with Mr. Johnson's statement that the federal government must be a good and fair employer. At some point, however, enough is enough. Over the past 20 years, postal employes have had 12 separate raises that have increased their average base salary by 200 per cent, from $2,069 to $6,219. Meanwhile, the cost of living has gone up just 71 per cent.

Before the Congress approves these most recent proposals, a searching inquiry is in order. The postman may carry a heavy load, but, brother, the taxpayer is lugging one too.

(Copyright 1965, *Newsday*)

□ □ □

PREDICTION—"I am convinced that tomorrow the Red flag will fly over the United States. But we will not fly the flag. It will be the American people themselves."—Nikita Khrushchev, Rumania, June 19, 1962

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Military Campaign Going Better in Viet Nam

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

President Johnson's push-and-pause technique in the Viet Nam bombings is coupled with important straws in the wind.

While the Bien Hoa explosion and other bad news takes the headlines our field commanders find better military news developing behind the scenes.

On one hand, our ground forces' basic strategy is to avoid a trap by Ho Chi Minh's regular army of about 225,000 organized troops that he has not yet committed to fighting. On the other hand, our air strikes seem to be building ingredients for more success than we had a right to expect. In fact, there was even a veiled admission of this development in an East Berlin speech by Deputy Premier Lo Jui-ching, Red China's chief of the army general staff.

A troop defector is a Viet Cong who seeks out and voluntarily surrenders, with his rifle. Ordinarily these average about 50 a week. Week before last there were 600.

Viet Cong assassination of village chiefs has been a powerful, ghastly weapon in Ho Chi Minh's aggression. The Reds have gone after the good people—the villager beloved, the man who dug the well, helped others and earned loyalty—the native Dr. Carlsons, as it were, whom the Communists killed by the same program in the Congo.

It is a scene as old as mankind: the brute aggressor, the victim, the eternal third—the onlooker—who fails to help the victim because he fears for his own safety.

But such South Viet Nam assassinations are thwarted more often now by the villagers themselves. It is highly significant that in spite of stepped-up Viet Cong assaults and some impressive victories, more and more Vietnamese are willing to run the awful, awful risks of village leadership.

In the air our haunting doubt has been the memory of Korea. Korea was ideal for air attack; a narrow peninsula flanked on both sides by water. Rail communications depended on a single many-tunneled line along one coast. Secure air bases bristled in nearby Japan and Okinawa.

The Korean War continued for three years and 32 days—just 114 days short of our World War II fight against the Germans. But conventional bombing could neither stop the Reds' transport on human backs nor destroy the enemy in being. The enemy kept coming.

From an air assault viewpoint, Viet Nam never held even as much promise as Korea. Instead of a sea-flanked peninsula, only one flank is open to the sea. We must have staging areas like overcrowded Bien Hoa in South Viet Nam itself. Their logistic support in the wet, green overfoliaged terrain is very difficult. We would have to expect this would limit the bombing missions.

Yet many missions exceeded the size of the Korean maximums and, even more important, good surprises have begun to turn up in the effectiveness.

Remarkable reconstruction can defeat appearances. Boats and rafts, and even swimming, can often take the place of destroyed bridges. But there are solid indications that our interdiction of the enemy is more successful in North Viet Nam than in North Korea.

The improved results remain something of a mystery, especially as reflected in South Viet Nam Mekong Delta.

This is the rice bowl for all that part of Southeast Asia. It is North Viet Nam's target and a chief reason why the Reds plunged south. Their attacks have not slackened in the delta and other localities at selected intervals, but it is clear that on numerous occasions when the initiative is in the hands of the Viet Cong the Viet Cong is not seeking combat.

Our surrender salesman in the Senate, typified by Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright, who again runs true to form, and participants in some university teach-ins and elsewhere, are merely indebted to their appeasement habits for their logic and to their imagination for their hopes. They only supply ammunition to our enemies at this critical moment.

When will they begin to learn that, like Neville Chamberlain's "peace in our time," peace is never obtained by piecemeal surrender to the gangster nations in our pressure-cooker world?

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An A1 Skyraider makes a pass at a Viet Cong hideout in the Mekong Delta. Such air attacks here and in the north may have turned the tide of the Viet Nam war.

Rumanian Hopes for Aid Shattered by U.S. Stand

By DUMITRU DANIELOPOL in the San Diego *Union*

The Rumanian Communists have the jitters.

The hopes on which they have been building dreams of American-financed prosperity have been shattered. The winds of the cold war are frigid again, even in the warm Washington spring.

U.S. actions in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic have shaken the Rumanians. They are trying to counterattack.

"President Johnson is playing with fire," said one Rumanian diplomat. "He will have a lot of surprises."

"What kind of surprises?" asked an American newsman.

"He will lose a lot of popularity for his aggression in Viet Nam and now in the Dominican Republic."

The newsman reminded the Rumanian Communist that the President had strong bi-partisan support in Congress. "But he is losing France," said the Communist.

President de Gaulle's disapproval of American foreign policy in Southeast Asia is giving the Communists comfort. Their broadcasts seldom fail to mention it.

This is, however, only marginal consolation. France's position as a world power is much less than President de Gaulle would like it to be.

The Rumanians do not know exactly which way to turn at this time. Their fourth National Communist Congress is scheduled July 19. This meeting takes place every five years and brings together some 3,000 delegates from all over the country. They listen to the achievements and the plans. And they expect a policy statement.

The Rumanians have been acclaimed in Washington for seeking "independence" from the Soviet Union. But at home their policy speeches stick close to Soviet ideology. And Rumanian economic ties with the USSR are unbroken.

"Just how independent are you?" a U.S. newsman asked a Rumanian diplomat recently. "We are economically independent," was his answer. "Then why do you sell so much oil to the Russians at a price below the world market?" There was no reply.

It is obvious that the satellites need help from the West. But they are not sure how far the Russians will go nor how far they will be allowed to go.

There are obvious signs of weakness in all the Communist countries.

Russia is toying with capitalist ideas. The satellites are wrestling with the same problem.

A popular joke in Hungary sums it up: The factory worker says: "They pretend to pay us an honest wage and we pretend to do an honest day's work."

The Rumanians in Washington find it hard to forget the old Communist cliches. "Colonialism is bound to fail," the diplomat said. "You Americans are carrying out a policy of neo-colonialism in Latin America."

When reminded that it was the United States that had put pressure on the colonial powers during and after World War II to induce them to set their colonies free, the Communist was befuddled.

His version of history gave all the credit to Russia.

Three words dominate all Communist arguments: "Aggression," "imperialism" and "colonialism." After they have been exploited, they have nothing more to say.

Federal Aid Bankrupts Firm

Deep in the heart of Appalachia, in a small town called Sandy Hook, Ky., there was once a small, profit-making cabinet manufacturing company which employed 86 persons and had $40,000 in the bank.

Things were going well for the Mico Manufacturing Co., founded by Joseph W. Conley, until the Administration discovered poverty in Appalachia and termed Elliott County (pop. 6,330) a "depressed area." Washington wanted to get Elliott County out of the "depressed" classification and began to try to do so in the only way it knew how—federal money.

First, the government built up and enlarged the little plant with a loan of $628,000. Nothing was going to be too good for Sandy Hook and cabinet production rose to 1,000 a day. Then, since the company was the recipient of federal funds, the government ordered the firm to follow federal cost-control and employment-recruitment procedures. The influx of massive funds and government red tape was too much for the relatively inexperienced company to handle.

Financial woes started and the plant's owners sought a $125,000 working-capital loan from the Small Business Administration. The troubles and cabinets piled higher and higher for nine months while the company waited for the SBA's answer to its request. Finally it came: "No." By that time, the firm was well into the red. Said Conley, "We were $40,000 to the good, in cash and receivables, when we got our first government loan. Since then, I have lost $78,000 of my own money and lots more gone down the drain from other good people besides the government."

Washington, not to be discouraged from successful cabinet-making merely for lack of funds, got the Area Redevelopment Administration to turn the operation over to a credit association, which lost the firm an additional $40,000. With Conley's $78,000 gone in a last-ditch try to salvage the firm, Mico Manufacturing Co. filed for bankruptcy last month.

So now many of the company's former employes are without work in a county which already was poor and "depressed" to begin with; the once-prosperous plant stands alone, doors locked and windows boarded.

"How could this happen from such a well-heeled government?" asked anxious townspeople. That question answers itself as the taxpayer digs a bit further into his pocket to finance the "Great Society." Meanwhile, life in Sandy Hook, Ky., goes on without its major manufacturing enterprise, an apparently expendable casualty in LBJ's war on poverty.

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Local Projects the Alternative

Can We Arrest Expanding Centralization?

By RUSSELL KIRK

It's all very well to complain about the mass age and creeping collectivism —lamenting the ominous increase of "bigness" and arbitrary power in government, labor and business. But what practical measures can we take to check our drift toward bureaucratic centralization?

Several intelligent readers of this column ask me such questions, in letters commenting upon my recent lament —quoting John Dos Passos—over the centralization of American government. There is no simple formula for effective resistance. But in general, the answer is this: brighten the corner where you are by reviving local energies, imagination and responsibility. Do it yourself and Washington will not saddle us with "the evil benefits of the welfare state."

***Let me turn to an illustrative particular.* What about medical care for people of small means, particularly the elderly? Must we, in this affluent and diverse country, implore Washington to pay our hospital bills? Local and state action—much of it voluntary and nonpolitical—could supply this need, if only we would assume the responsibility and dip moderately into our own pockets.**

In the Michigan county where I live, we have a small, promising medical institution, Mecosta Memorial Hospital, formerly operated by the county but now a charitable foundation directed by able doctors. Its care is good and its rates are low. Special provision is made for people who would have difficulty paying their bills: some of them can make payment in personal labor, for instance, by painting walls or working on the grounds. Local people are enthusiastic about the hospital. But money is so badly lacking that Mecosta Memorial is in danger of collapse.

If the hospital ceases to operate, neighboring hospitals might become awkwardly and perhaps dangerously overcrowded. And rural people, the elderly and folk of low incomes would suffer a hard blow.

What can be done? Why, we need local intelligence and duty, private and public. People of means in Mecosta and neighboring counties served by this hospital ought to contribute what sums they can afford, for a mere $25,000 in donations would serve for the present emergency, and $75,000 would make possible desired improvements, putting the hospital on a permanent footing. This commentator has assumed the chairmanship of such a fund drive.

Second, private foundations ought to award grants to this hospital and others like it. Too often, foundation officers say, in effect, "Give us something for more money." They, like people in government, seem to relish bigness and central power. Paradoxically, it is easier for a big hospital to get a big grant than for a small struggling hospital to obtain modest aid from a foundation.

Third, a small assignment of county revenues would save this hospital and others like it elsewhere. A mill, or even half a mill, from the county property tax rate would make all the difference in the world. And in the long run, such an appropriation would save money, since the long-range alternative seems to be a centralized "public health" system expensively directed from Washington.

We still can preserve American "territorial democracy" by such means. Or have we grown too lethargic and indifferent? The alternative is unpleasant.

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How Government Bureaucracy Grows

CHECKLIST SHOWING OVERLAPPING IN FEDERAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

(In a few of the 42 departments, agencies and bureaus of the Government dealing with education)

	Department of Health, Education and Welfare											Department of Labor			Independent Agencies		
	Cooperative Research	Educational Improvement for the Handicapped	Impacted Areas	Health Professions Educational Assistance	Higher Educational Facilities Act of 1963	Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Act	National Defense Education Act	Vocational Education Act of 1963	Area Redevelopment Act	Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962	Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (Also Department of Commerce)	Atomic Energy Commission	Economic Opportunity Act of 1964	National Aeronautics and Space Administration	National Science Foundation	H.R. 2361/2362	H.R. 3220
Train unemployed, underemployed						X		X	X	X	X		X			X	X
Train dropouts		X				X		X	X	X			X				X
Residential schools								X					X				
Work-study								X				X	X	X			X
On-the-job training								X	X	X		X	X	X			
Construct or remodel elem.—sec. schools			X				X	X								X	
College classrooms, labs, jr. colleges, tech. institutes*				X	X		X							X			X
Operating costs	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Teaching equipment	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Guidance counseling	X						X	X	X	X		X	X			X	X
Student loans				X			X										X
Scholarships, fellowships	X						X	X				X	X	X	X		X
Research	X	X				X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Institutes	X						X	X				X			X		
Demonstrations, pilot projects	X					X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X
Train teachers	X	X				X	X	X				X		X	X	X	X
Train Adults						X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Teach handicapped and disadvantaged		X				X		X	X	X			X			X	X

*Under Housing and Home Finance Agency, college loans are available for construction of dormitories, student unions, and cafeterias.

Federal spending on education will climb to $6.3 billion this year. At the present rapid growth rate, this total will more than double in the next five years. The chart above shows how these federal programs often overlap and duplicate each other, wasting the taxpayers' money.

Chart prepared by U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Five Years For Murder

From the Washington Evening *Star*

Miss Jeanne E. Wright, 45, spent almost seven years in Viet Nam, working for the Agency for International Development. According to her superiors, she traveled over the country "at great personal risk." These travels included many trips into areas infested by the Viet Cong.

Last year she returned to the United States and bought a town house in the Capitol Hill area of Washington. Last December 21 she was beaten, strangled and stabbed to death by an intruder who had broken into her newly-purchased home—and this in a city of which the President has said that people must be secure in their homes, on the streets and in their places of business.

In the course of the murder Miss Wright's assailant cut his finger, and the police caught him by following a trail of blood to his home, where he was found in bed. The guilty "youth" is six feet, two inches tall, and weighs 225 pounds. His name, however, has been withheld from publication because he was 16 years old at the time of the murder.

Now the scales of justice have been tipped in his favor. Chief Judge Morris Miller of the Juvenile Court, despite the lack of any significant mitigating circumstances, has sentenced the youth to the National Training School until he becomes 21.

Judge Miller said he took his action after "considerable mental anguish" instead of referring the case to District Court where the youth would have been tried under criminal procedures.

His mental anguish is understandable. For while he doubtless hoped that the youth responsible for this savage killing might be "rehabilitated" in the next four and a half years, the fact remains that, rehabilitated or not, he must be released at age 21.

If he is not "rehabilitated" by that time, what becomes of the assurance that the law-abiding people of Washington must be safe in their homes, on the streets, and in their places of business? Perhaps they would be safer in Viet Nam.

□ □ □

TWO REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN have introduced legislation aimed at protecting an individual's mail from the prying eyes of government bureaucrats. Rep. Durward Hall (R.-Mo.) submitted a bill that would prevent agents of the Internal Revenue Service from seizing someone's mail unless they had a search warrant. Rep. Glenn Cunningham (R.-Neb.) introduced legislation that would ban mail covers—the practice of examining an individual's mail without actually opening it.

□ □ □

HAINAN BUILDUP—Indian Defense Ministry sources say the Chinese Communists are converting the island of Hainan, which is only 150 miles from the U.S. military complex at Da Nang, South Viet Nam, into a major strategic base. The island is also a jumping-off point for Chinese saboteurs being sent to free Asian countries. So important has been the buildup that the Chinese Reds have declared the island off limits to all but military personnel.

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The Controversial Edward R. Murrow

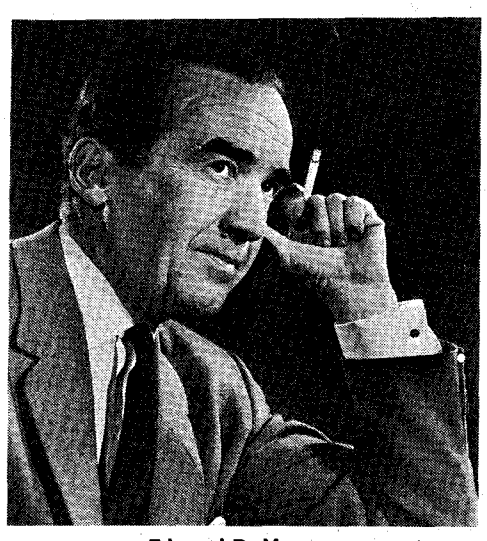
By JOHN O'HARA

(Editor's Note: One of America's most celebrated novelists and short story writers, Mr. O'Hara is also a syndicated columnist. During the recent presidential campaign he was an outspoken supporter of Sen. Barry Goldwater.)

Abandoning all caution, I now hazard the guess that history will judge that Winston Churchill did more to win the Second World War than Edward R. Murrow. This may seem like a rash, reckless statement when the newspapers —very particularly the airwaves—are so full of posthumous salutes to Murrow. Nevertheless I take the risk. Thirty years, or one generation, hence, I may have to eat these words, and that will be an unpalatable repast for a man of ninety.

The only time I ever met Murrow was at a party at the home of Miriam Hopkins. The New York home of Miriam Hopkins, I should say. It was a charming, small house on the East River, which Miss Hopkins still owns. There, and in Beverly Hills, her parties were unique, or at least atypical of the parties usually given by movie stars.

Most of her guests were chosen from the world of the intellect; novelists, playwrights, musicians, composers, painters, sculptors, directors, government officials. They were there because Miriam knew them all, had read their works, had listened to their music, had bought their paintings. They were not



Edward R. Murrow

there because a secretary had given her a list of highbrows.

At that party, which was about 25 years ago, were Edward R. Murrow, Vincent Sheean, John Gunther and William L. Shirer, among many others. Sheean, who likes to bait people, had been baiting me for not having fought beside Hemingway in the Spanish Civil War. It was a pretty good example of what would now be called putting me on. Before I could reply, Murrow said quietly, "And what were you doing there, Jimmy?"

I never knew why, but Murrow's question crushed Sheean, and I didn't have to say a word. Murrow winked at me and grinned, and I smiled my thanks. It was the only time I ever actually met Murrow, but of course I remained kindly disposed toward him.

But after the war, when he returned to New York, CBS did a varnish job on him and he was not an unwilling object of the glamorizing treatment. He was a radio announcer who had been converted into a war correspondent, and with his elocutionary gift he was equipped by nature and by temperament for a whole new career. In an earlier day he would have made a splendid Chautauqua artist; in the late 1940s he was transformed into a quasi-official voice of the liberal movement. And though I was voting that way myself, and usually was in agreement with the words Murrow uttered, I considered him a ham.

The more popular he became, the hammier he got. The elocutionary style was being developed—the dramatic pauses seemed to be controlled by a stop-watch, the voice was pitched a half-tone lower. And of course the bolder he got in the scripts he read, the higher his rating as a statesman-without-portfolio.

He was much better off than if he had had official status. As a public official he would not have enjoyed the immunity that he was granted at CBS, where only William S. Paley could fire him. Another bit of luck in his favor was the fact that he had not pursued his theatrical career. At Washington State College he had been a member of the National Collegiate Players, a recognition society in dramatics.

After college he abandoned the stage, and by not becoming a professional actor he escaped the attainder that was slapped on every actor, right or left, who spoke out on political matters. Murrow closed the curtain on his interest in amateur theatricals. He mentions the National Collegiate Players in his 1946-47 *Who's Who* sketch, but not in the succeeding volume.

It is also interesting to note that in the 1946-47 sketch he cites his membership in Scabbard and Blade, which is a national collegiate military society. Its purpose, according to *Baird's Manual*, is "to raise the standard of military training in American colleges and universities, to unite in closer relationship their military establishments. . . . to promote preparedness for proper defense of the United States by disseminating accurate information . . . concerning the military needs of the nation."

After 1947 Murrow ceased to proclaim membership in Scabbard and Blade, although he continues to acknowledge Kappa Sigma; and he apparently picked up an honorary membership in Phi Beta Kappa along the way. I wonder if Phi Beta knew he had been in Scabbard and Blade.

I rapped him several times while he was still in good health, and 10 years ago I declined the supreme honor of one of those "Person to Person" interviews of his. I had, and have, nothing much against him except that he was overrated and never questioned the overrating.

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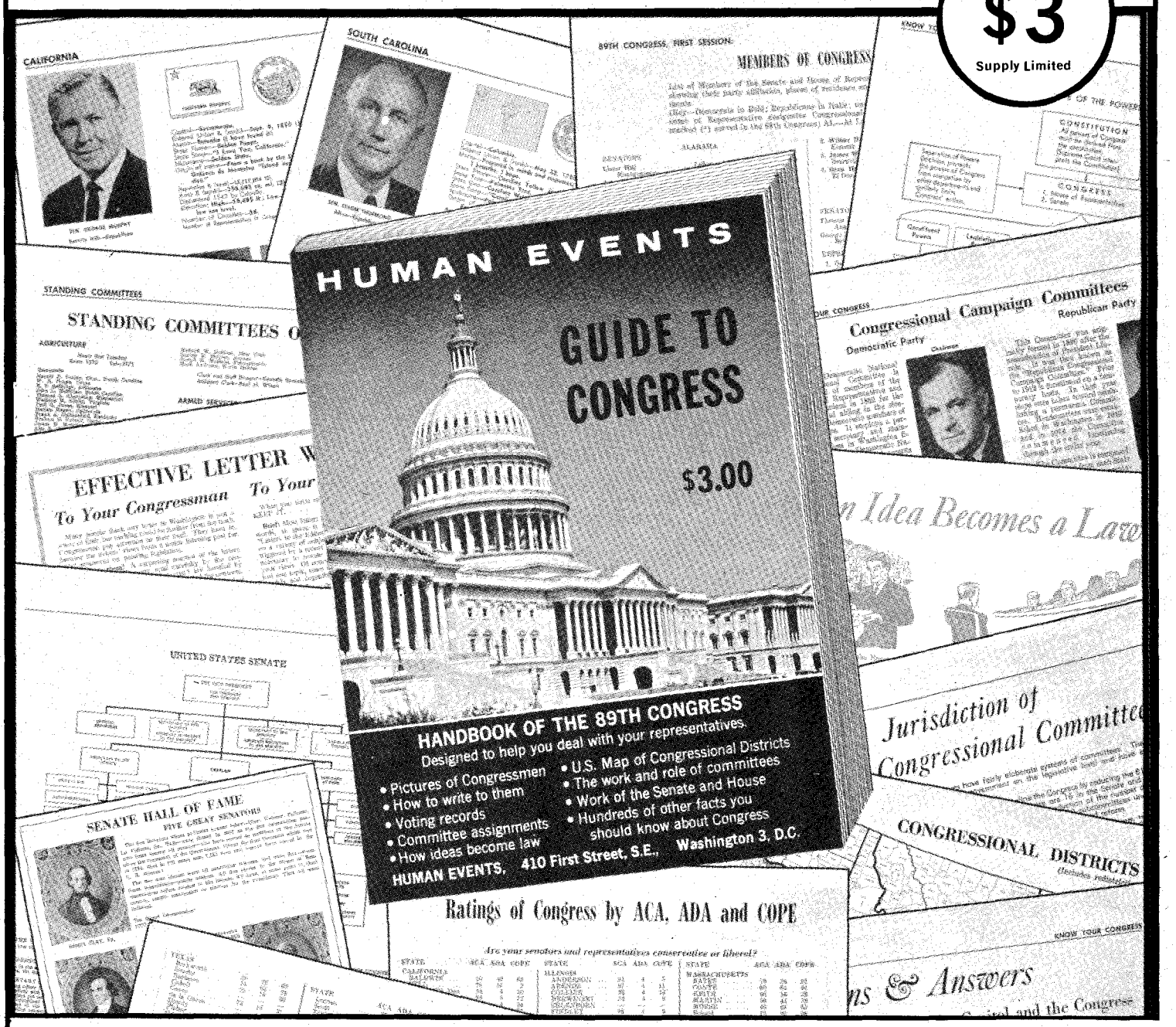
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The photos of the few pages above cannot do justice to this handy volume (pages, for instance, are one-half the size of Human Events pages). You must see for yourself. . . .

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A group of pacifist demonstrators temporarily blocked New York City's Armed Forces Day parade on Fifth Avenue (above). A similar sit-in forced Columbia University to cancel an NROTC awards ceremony.

Leftist Students Revolt in N.Y.C.

From the Indianapolis *Star*

Columbia University in New York City was the scene of one of the most blatant acts of hooliganism to take place at any institution of higher learning in the country, not excluding the University of California.

A "stand-in" of some 200 anti-war demonstrators locked arms before a brigade of the university's Naval Reserve unit, thereby forcing cancellation of the training corps' annual awards ceremony.

The demonstrators were protesting U.S. participation in the Viet Nam conflict and called also for a withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Dominican Republic. Bent on what they called "civil disobedience," the demonstrators blocked from entering the rotunda of the university library a dozen members of the Third Naval District band and about 20 Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps midshipmen.

At one point a girl picket started swinging an unbrella at a policeman, striking him repeatedly. His patience at an end, he wrested the umbrella from her hands whereupon the pickets started to shout "police brutality."

The rally was staged by Youth Against War and Fascism, a left-wing group sympathetic to Red China; the Progressive Labor Movement, a similar group; and the Independent Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, a third leftist organization.

An administration spokesman characterized the atmosphere as "downright ugly", as the surging mass of demonstrators broke the glass of one door of the library's main entrance. The university officials caucused inside the library and decided to call off the awards ceremony on the grounds that they did not want another University of California incident.

What has happened in this country? Why is a mob of leftists permitted to force the cancellation of a legitimate function by decent young men willing to prepare themselves to bear arms for our country?

Why should any mob of young, undisciplined punks be allowed to threaten violence, to gang up on the public, to endanger lives, to disturb the peace?

This is the sort of thing that, if permitted, leads to chaos and anarchy. If these kids are allowed to get away with these riots and violence, more rioting and more violence will follow.

Whether the issue is "peace" or "civil rights" or just because the lights went out, as in Indiana State's riot recently, makes no difference. The real issue is law, order and discipline.

These unruly kids should be kicked out of college. Both they and the colleges would be better off for it. A university is a place for learning, not a place for mob rule. Students have to be taught respect not only for law but for the rights of others to learn and study in peace. It is not their business to try to run a college or dominate its policies—they are supposed to be educating themselves, not propagandizing and demonstrating.

The way to stop another University of California incident is not to give in to threats of a bunch of leftist sheep who care not for our country's welfare. The way to stop it is to disperse the illegal mob with whatever means are required. And that means tear gas, police dogs, police horses, fire hose and whatever else is necessary.

Anarchy cannot be permitted in the land. A few more incidents like this will bring out the extreme right-wingers to combat the leftists. Then we will have the beginnings of a new phase rivaling the Communist-Nazi street brawls of the early 1930s.

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TIME MAGAZINE reports that U.S. labor unions distribute more than 1,000 publications that reach 20 million readers. The publications, financed with union dues, often represent nothing but pro-Administration propaganda.

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THE OFFICE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE in the Department of Justice, set up with great fanfare by then Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy last August, is being run on a one-day-a-week basis by a professor who is a full-time member of the Harvard faculty.

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Wrong on Castro

Herbert Matthews Now Berating U.S. for Dominican 'Intervention'

From the Arizona *Republic*

Who should emerge from anonymity to lecture the United States on illegality of intervention in Latin American affairs than Herbert L. Matthews, the sage of the New York *Times*.

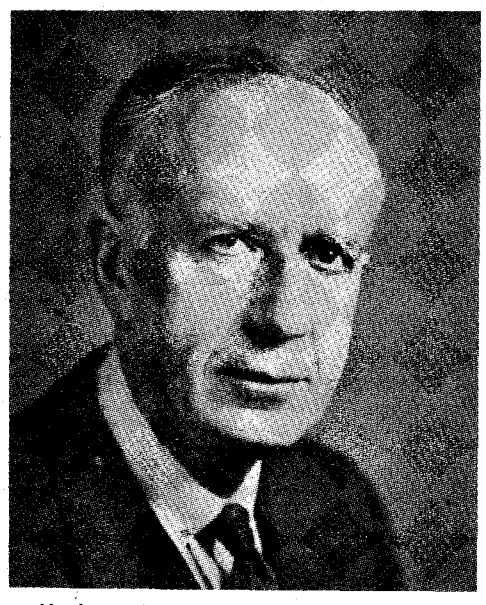
In a recent article, Matthews berates what he terms the "Johnson Doctrine, the policy that the United States will intervene automatically against the threat of a Communist takeover in any Latin American country." He charges that the Dominican intervention "was a throwback to 1904," the year of America's first intervention in the Dominican Republic. And he further charges that it was a throwback to "the Caribbean interventions" in Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua and Panama.

We admit to a sense of outrage toward being lectured on intervention and history by Matthews—particularly by Matthews. For it was he who, virtually singlehandedly, sold Fidel Castro to the American people as the George Washington of Cuba.

It was Matthews who assured hundreds of thousands of his countrymen that Castro was not a Communist.

It was Matthews who denied that Castro was a Communist. . . long after Castro himself admitted that he was, and that he had been since 1948.

And it was Matthews who, when even he could no longer deny the evidence of Castro's communism, suddenly



Herbert Matthews of the New York Times blames Castro's communism on U. S.

switched directions and claimed that Castro became a Communist only when Washington acted hostile toward his regime—an explanation which conveniently ignores a dozen previous years of Castro communism and which forgets to say that Washington became "hostile" only after a series of drumhead trials and bloody public executions carried on by the Fidelistas.

With all this talk about U.S. "intervention" (which Matthews undoubtedly would have welcomed on Castro's behalf when he was hiding from Batista in the hills) one fundamental fact emerges clearly:

The United States does not illegally possess a single inch of Latin American territory, nor does it have designs on Latin real estate. Puerto Rico enjoys the status of a free commonwealth associated with the United States and no more than a handful of Puerto Ricans seriously advocate independence. The Canal Zone belongs to the United States by virtue of a treaty. And the Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark in 1917.

Compare this record of "intervention" with the attempt by "George Washington" Castro to subvert the legitimate governments of a dozen Latin nations. Presumably one day Matthews will raise his voice in equally righteous indignation against that.

DeGaulle's Unfriendly Act

From the London *Times*

No major French interest is involved in the Dominican Republic.

President de Gaulle's call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops could not be interpreted as offering an alternative counsel, or economic influence. It will be regarded as an attempt to make political capital out of anti-American resentment wherever it may be. This is particularly regrettable because of the probable effect on President Johnson.

The U.S. President is known as a man sensitive to all criticism, and particularly likely to disregard any from abroad. It is a characteristic that his allies should not wish to encourage. Yet nothing will encourage it more than a belief that criticism is based on narrow motives.

This attack is all the more difficult to comprehend when the news coming out of the Dominican Republic is so confused. In such circumstances it is a mark of statesmanship to exercise restraint. By his precipitate words, President de Gaulle can have done nothing to help the Dominican Republic. It was a carefully contrived, unfriendly act with in the Western Alliance.

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REMINDER—"Given such majorities in Congress, there is little now that can stop this Administration from running up a record in 1965 for new spending programs and the extension of federal power. We would only remind these exuberant gentlemen that the original 100 days began at Elba and ended at Waterloo."—From the Washington *Evening Star*

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SILENT LIBERALS—Rep. Richard Bolling (D.-Mo.), a prominent House liberal, recently called upon those liberals supporting LBJ's apparent strong stand in Viet Nam to make themselves heard. Said Bolling, "What have we come to when the President of the United States, who was given the greatest confidence vote in the history of the nation . . . just six months ago, must now look most often to the conservatives for public support of his foreign policy?"

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REP. PAUL FINDLEY (R.-Ill.) blames Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman's "dumping of massive quantities of government grain stocks" for the latest decline in net income for Illinois farmers. He quoted a report which showed net farm income down 4 per cent in 1964, compared with 1963.

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Labor Drives for 'Total Job Security'

By PAT VINCENT in the *Freeman*

You are hired by the company the day you leave school.

You move up the seniority ladder at a fixed and unalterable pace.

There's no need to make a special effort to develop new skills: your position and pay are fixed by the time you spend on the job.

You receive financial assistance when you marry, later get additional benefits for your children.

You retire at the age of 55.

The worker's paradise?

Not so, say Japanese union leaders about the "lifetime employment plan" which covers approximately 40 per cent of their country's work force.

In fact, both labor and management are now trying to find some way of dismantling Japan's tradition-bound system. Unions are restive, pointing out that the worker is stuck with one job for life, has no incentive to develop additional skills, and can't better himself by taking advantage of opportunities in a different industry. Management is hobbled by a work force that is stagnant, regimented and unadaptable to changing times.

France, West Germany, Belgium, the countries of Latin America, have had "job security" programs for decades, but with no perceptible increase in labor satisfaction. There is always the example of the American "capitalist" worker with his high standard of living, his freedom to move up the economic ladder at his own pace, to goad the security-bound worker of other lands into a realization of his own right.

Or at least there has been—until now. For the mid '60s is witnessing a massive drive by the labor hierarchy to impose a similar strait jacket on management and employes in this country in the guise of "total security."

Decked out in the full panoply of expensive union propaganda, the term has an undeniable seductiveness: it is all-encompassing, impatient with logic and history. It promises everything to the worker and asks nothing; seemingly, he can't lose.

The strategy of implementation is becoming clearer day by day. You can see it in the attempt to focus attention on a few untypical situations as universal models, and in the increasing number of theoretical articles being published in those reliable bellwethers, the journals of opinion. "See—it works!" says the first. "And it's an intellectually respectable concept, too," says the second.

Take the case of the total job security program recently negotiated by the United Steelworkers of America with Alan Wood Steel Co. In itself, the program for the 2,500 employes of the small Pennsylvania steel firm would have little if any repercussion on the economy.

As a pattern for negotiations with the can industry, steel industry, and all industry, however, it has been moved to the center of the labor arena with deliberate fanfare by United Steelworkers' President David J. McDonald. Here, he has said in effect, is the shape of things to come.

The basics of the contract are familiar to everyone by now. For each worker, a guaranteed average rate of earnings which will "protect" him from a reduction of more than 5 per cent because of demotion or other job changes by management; a guarantee of 38 hours pay for each week in which an employe works, even though he is on the job only part of the time; payment to each worker with 10 or more years tenure of the equivalent of 85 per cent of his pay should he be laid off, until retirement; and sharing with all employes 32.5 per cent of savings achieved through labor or materials efficiencies.

In "selling" this program to the country, labor spokesmen make no mention of the many factors in the program which have caused disillusionment abroad, such as the worker's loss of mobility and versatility, the discounting of incentives, the sapping of individual initiative, and the inability of companies to compete or even stay in business under this kind of financial burden.

Instead, any suspicion as to the economic feasibility of the program is to be allayed by the intellectuals. Providing an ideological base from which to influence the mass media is their role in the strategy of implementation. And just what is the philosophical justification for "total security"? Just how is this concept to be structured into American life?

Here is Robert Theobald, author of Free Men and Free Markets, **writing in the** Commonweal **of Sept. 4, 1964: " . . . we had to develop a new, human and constitutional right—the right to an income. . . Every citizen who has resided in the United States for a period of five consecutive years should be guaranteed the right to an income sufficient to enable him to live with dignity. No government agency, judicial body or other organization whatsoever should have the right to suspend or limit any payment assured by this guarantee."**

As Mr. Theobald candidly states, this concept "justifies income without toil."

And how is this total security to be paid for?

By penalizing each employe who has the ambition and initiative to develop and market his skills beyond an arbitrarily fixed point. To quote Mr. Theobald, "We should establish the principle that the portion of income required to maintain a reasonable standard of living should be tax free. Taxes should only be paid on incomes rising above this level."

United Steelworkers President David McDonald pushed for contracts which guaranteed an average wage.

Here, then, is the cost which labor is to pay for "total security": regimentation, abrogation of the right to enjoy the fruits of one's labor, atrophy of skills, and a universal but minimum standard of living at a "reasonable" level.

Is it not ironical that just as labor in Asia, Europe, even behind the Iron Curtain, seeks to cast off the confining restrictions of "total" systems and gain some of the mobility and freedom of the American worker, the latter should be offered this same tired and withered concept as his shining hope?

Heavy-Handed Oklahoma Teachers

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Register-Republic*

Oklahoma teachers who are members of the Oklahoma Teachers Association did the cause of education no good by voting to boycott state schools next fall unless their demands for higher salaries and better working conditions are met. The Oklahoma association took that action after the National Education Association imposed sanctions against the state educational system.

The teachers are demanding a $1,000 across-the-board annual salary increase and less crowded classrooms. The national sanctions warn out-of-state teachers not to accept positions in Oklahoma; caution Oklahoma college graduates against contracting to teach in the state; and give widespread publicity to the situation in Oklahoma.

These are drastic and heavy-handed tactics for a so-called professional organization. They result in the Oklahoma educational system getting a bad name, and the experience with national sanctions against schools in Utah indicates that the actions are largely unsuccessful.

In Utah, the imposition of national sanctions by the NEA did not deter teachers from going to the state and did not encourage Utah teachers to go elsewhere. The Utah Legislature voted improvements in the public school program, but it did not grant all the demands of the educational group.

Teacher organizations should follow constructive policies in their efforts to get higher pay and improved working conditions. They lose public support when they threaten boycotts, because the pupils suffer if there is no public education. And it takes years to erase the bad reputation which a state's schools acquire when sanctions are imposed.

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CAN PATRIOTISM BE PURCHASED?—Here is a chance for college professors to do a little "moonlighting." The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has a fund of $87,000 to pay professors for essays on disarmament at a price ranging around $12,000 an essay. One of the essays by Prof. Bruce Russett of Yale is characterized by the Chicago *Tribune* as "a master plan for national suicide." —By Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.)

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Poverty's Flowers in New York

From the New York *Journal-American*

HARYOU-ACT, which is Rep. Adam Clayton Powell's special interest in Harlem, opened its account books and out popped $1,062,701.58 in salaries—more than half its $2,151,683.46 expenditures in the nine months ending in March.

Livingston Wingate, former Powell aide, who is the $25,000 executive director, said the million dollars included $1.50 an hour paid to 6,000 needy youths in advancement programs. But what about consultants at $50 and $100 a day and 31 employes at $7,001 to $8,000; 11 at $8,001 to $9,000; 22 at $10,001 to $15,000, and three at $15,001 to $20,000?

"We have to get the best qualified people to serve the community," Mr. Wingate said.

But at that kind of money? Taxpayers' money?

The poverty-stricken must be helped to help themselves, but not by flowering an elite corps out of poverty.

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PAUL HALL, president of the Seafarers International Union, has called for the resignation of Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman. Hall charged that Freeman has ignored the law in shipping surplus grain to foreign countries in foreign ships.

Why Trade with Soviet Bloc?

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

There is a prodigious propaganda campaign under way to have the United States sharply increase its sales and purchases in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The technique is familiar. The President announces in his State of the Union address his determination to "increase peaceful trade." Then he appoints a commission which dutifully reports back that such trade can be an effective instrument of foreign policy.

Support comes from other sources. A private study group, the Committee for Economic Development, releases a shallow report which obviously starts from the conclusion that we should increase trade—and then scrounges about for reasons to justify that trade.

Then there are those "anti-Communist" businesses, drooling for trade, but which don't want to appear aiding Communists. Give us something to hang our hats on, they ask the Administration.

And the presidential commission releases a statement that we are going to use this trade against the Communists as a cold war weapon to weaken the Communist solidarity and lure the Eastern European states to the West.

A fine arrangement. Then we witness the incredible spectacle of supposedly intelligent, alert businessmen going about the country lecturing groups that we are selling to the Reds goods that the Communists desperately need—in order to weaken the Communists and thereby strengthen us.

At times like this the Globe-Democrat **finds itself in rare alliance with men like George Meany and longshoremen leaders. We see a certain nobility in a Meany and a Gleason and their followers striking, giving up wages, refusing to unload some ship that has just run Communist goods to Cuba.**

As our casualties mount, these arguments for increased trade with the source of the guns and troubles reach a point where they simply turn a man's stomach.

Let's trade to build bridges of understanding and "liberalize" the satellites and draw them to the West, we are told. Communist China has been trading with Britain and the Commonwealth for 15 years and we have detected no "liberalization"; on the contrary, only a more powerful and more dangerous enemy.

We have been trading with Poland since 1956 and Yugoslavia since 1948, and during those years both countries have moved back closer to the Soviet Union. The small measure of independence Rumania has won was achieved when her American trade was almost non-existent.

There are other arguments that would be comical, were not American soldiers being wounded and killed by communism today. We are asked to increase trade with Russia, but not with Cuba, and to urge allies to shut off Cuban trade. This knocks any moral position we have into a cocked hat.

Cuba would collapse within months without Soviet aid. This is like refusing to sell whisky to an alcoholic while doing a land office business with his best friend. We wonder if anyone considered the possibility that Russia might just do a little shopping in the United States for their little ward in the Caribbean.

Only non-strategic trade will be allowed, we are told. Special caution will be taken. Did anyone consider that by

Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

filling non-strategic gaps in the Soviet economy, we release equal Soviet resources to devote to strategic concerns, like killing as many Marines as possible in the Dominican Republic?

J.W. and all the little Fulbrights in this country talk as though there were some dramatic distinction between the Soviet Union as trading partner and the Soviet Union as world-wide aggressor. The Russians do not trade to "build bridges of understanding"; they trade because they have to.

If the Communists could get the goods elsewhere, they would buy them elsewhere. If trade benefitted us more than they, there would be no trade.

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MEDICARE COSTS— Columnist Sylvia Porter warned recently that enactment of the Administration's Medicare proposal threatens the economy. Miss Porter, a liberal economist, points out that Social Security taxes will jump by $5 billion starting Jan. 1, 1966, if the Medicare bill is signed into law. "Our economy as a result could be hit by a sharp deflationary blow early next year," she reports. "Just as tax cuts stimulate our buying, so tax hikes restrain our buying—and a $5-billion tax increase in this form is a 'restraint' by any yardstick." Miss Porter disclosed that economists in the capital view with "utmost seriousness" the effects of the Medicare enactment. The citizens who will be hit hardest, she says, are those in the middle-income brackets, those earning between $5,000 and $6,000. An employe making $5,600 a year will have his Social Security taxes increased to $243.60 from the present $174. His employer must chip in an equal amount. A $5,600-a-year self-employed person will have his Social Security taxes hiked from the present $259.20 a year up to $335.60.

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"A MAN IS RICH in proportion to what he is able to do without."—Henry David Thoreau

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"In wartime—and we most certainly are at war whether or not we like to admit it—the American people are only too aware that sacrifices are demanded of them. To put it one way, when Uncle Sam puts on his khaki uniform, he must take off his Santa Claus suit. As military spending mounts, we cannot continue to add untold billions to our various other budgets."
—Rep. Catherine May (R.-Wash.)

Captive Nations

By REP. DANIEL FLOOD (D.-Pa.)

Present developments in various parts of the world, particularly in Viet Nam, make the establishment of a Special Committee on the Captive Nations a definite necessity. Let us not forget that the captive people of North Viet Nam also have a stake in the outcome of the current crisis there. Despite the eased tensions in Eastern Europe, let us not forget that the various totalitarian Red governments do not represent the underlying captive nations and in a variety of ways continue to oppress and exploit the captive peoples. Let us also not forget that Moscow's deceptive policy of peaceful coexistence cannot conceal the realities of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism in the captive non-Russian countries of the empire-state called the Soviet Union. And let us not forget that the captive nation of Cuba is still off our shores and is being systematically exploited by Moscow and Peking alike for Red totalitarian penetration of Latin America.

In short, as our interest and energies are being absorbed by certain particular events, let us not forget the general and basic state of the captive nations in Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America. And the best way in not forgetting them at this time is to create now a Special Committee on the Captive Nations. This is the time for such a committee.

U.S. Allies?

By REP. H.R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

I had no difficulty, when I read the morning newspaper, of ascertaining the fact that five more U.S. citizens, American servicemen, had lost their lives in the fighting in Viet Nam, and another 11 had been wounded. But I could read the same paper with a magnifying glass, or any other newspaper you choose to name, and fail to find where a single serviceman from any other so-called free world nation lost his life in the struggle in Viet Nam. We have ladled out $130 billion to foreign countries all over the world. Where are the so-called free world friends we are supposed to have as a result of this dissipation of our resources?

Stalin in Moscow

By SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

There was a subtle change evident in the massive military parade recently in Moscow. Displayed there for the first time in years were the weapons of the Red Army. Displayed there for the first time in years were photos of Stalin and mentions of his name. Red Army heroes from World War II were resurrected from domestic exile and once again hailed as leaders worthy of emulation. All this Soviet militarism does not necessarily mean that Russia is going to return to the ways of Stalin. But it is indication that the new—and still insecure—post-Khrushchev leadership of Russia is being forced to restore the Red Army to its previous position of influence. This simply goes to show that we never can be sure what turn the totalitarian Communistic system of the Soviets will take. It is ample evidence that we must maintain our own defensive strength at a level equal *not* to defeat and deterrence of the minimum possible Red threat—but at a level equal to defeat and deterrence of the maximum possible Red threat.

Planning Bungle

By REP. RALPH HARVEY (R.-Ind.)

With such great emphasis being placed on the "war on poverty," those of us who have questioned the high price tag have come in for some criticism. However, there are recent examples of bungling and waste which should make more of us cautious about high spending. A furniture plant was established in West Virginia with over $500,000 supplied by the Area Redevlopment Administration. The Small Business Administration added over $250,000. After two years' operation the plant was closed, having experienced over $600,000 *in operating losses. This was a case where poor planning, undertaken and financed by Uncle Sam (with your tax dollars and mine), caused a new plant to go under. The people to be aided, coal miners who were not adequately retrained, are no better off than they were before.*

Growing Debt

By REP. CLARK MacGREGOR (R.-Minn.)

It has been a recurring dream of the Communist world that sooner or later America would spend itself into bankruptcy. The way things are going now, that dream just could come true. Since 1960, we have added $28 billion to our national debt. We haven't had a balanced budget since a Democratic Administration took office in 1961. And yet, despite adding billions to the cost of domestic programs already in the works, the Administration is embarking on a full-speed-ahead course to even larger and more costly federal programs. It's hard, I realize, to find fault with the aims of many of these programs. But setting aside other objections, is this the time to indulge in them? The cost of all the various new programs has been grossly under-estimated. They will cost much more than is claimed. The costs will increase each year. To all of them, there just is no foreseeable end.

Rotting Crops

By REP. BURT TALCOTT (R.-Calif.)

Thousands, even millions of dollars worth of fruit and vegetables are rotting in the fields of California because we do not have adequate labor . . . to harvest the crops. The idea to muster large numbers of juvenile delinquents or misfits . . . from the big city slums out to the fields to California is an attempt by the Administration to solve some of the social, economic, unemployment and racial problems of the East by foisting them on the people of California.

Withdrawal Nonsense

By SEN. GEORGE SMATHERS (D.-Fla.)

Recently I went to the Senate floor to commend the President for his resolution and to answer some of the critics. These political alchemists, I said, have a wondrous scheme for Southeast Asia. Under their theory, all we have to do is recognize we must have an accommodation with Red China and presto—instant peace! I characterized as nonsense the idea that withdrawing from Viet Nam will bring peace. Instead, it will bring only the illusion of peace and a temporary illusion, at that. It is a dirty, vexing little war—but it is not without hope of victory. As long as we stand firm, there is hope for meaningful negotiation. We do not want a wider war but at the same time we have learned that if we yield to aggression, we invite greater destruction and more threats to peace.

The Paperwork Jungle

By REP. WALTER ROGERS (D.-Tex.)

Federal agencies require and request more than one billion reports a year from business, industry and the public. We Americans each year fill out the equivalent of more than five government forms for every man, woman and child in the country. One estimate of total cost—including the time required to make the reports—is $20 billion.

Recently a House subcommittee issued a summary of its investigation into the problem, and it is expected that corrective action will result.

Some reports are mandatory. The income tax returns to the Internal Revenue Service are perhaps the best-known examples of mandatory returns. Many reports to the government are voluntary, however, and a large segment of the public apparently is unaware that a substantial volume of federal reports and paperwork is neither specifically authorized by statute nor specifically funded in any appropriation act of the Congress. The fact is that aside from the tax-collecting and regulatory agency programs there are relatively few mandatory reporting systems.

Bureaucrats in the departments and agencies have taken few positive steps to clarify the voluntary status of their reports. In some cases, the subcommittee found, administrators have used deceptive language in the wording of questionnaires with the apparent intention of misleading the public into believing that a voluntary report is required by law.

A statement such as this may appear on a form: "Under authority of Public Law—, Section—, we are requesting you to supply the following information." Most persons, I'd think, would interpret that statement to mean that Congress specifically authorized the survey. However, the citation of law may refer to nothing more than a continuing general authority granted by Congress for an agency to inquire into, for example, "the extent of illness and disability" of the U.S. population.

The public has a twofold stake in government paperwork—as taxpayers, whose tax dollars go to support agency programs which generate the need, real or imagined, for data called for in the reports; and, second, as respondents furnishing the information to the government. While the costs to the government, and thus to the taxpayers, can be estimated with some accuracy, it is difficult to assess the total impact through unnecessary man-hours of work and worry imposed upon our people.

Some federal administrators seem to have little regard for the costs, direct and indirect, to the public. The Internal Revenue Service told the subcommittee that the average time necessary for completing the "Individual Income Tax" form—the long Form 1040—was 20 minutes. The time required is more like 20 hours, as the IRS people must know. It would not be possible for an expert typist to copy some Form 1040s in 20 minutes, and that time would not include the hours necessary to assemble the needed data, do the arithmetic and read and digest the complex tax regulations in an effort to avoid overpayment.

Rep. Rogers says bureaucrats often mislead public into believing certain reports are required by law.

Despite agency claims to the contrary, it was the conclusion of the investigating subcommittee that the IRS Form 1040 alone costs the public over $1 billion each year to complete, averaging man-hour costs between hired accountants and taxpayers.

One Bureau of Customs form for entry and clearance of vessels at U.S. ports requires that merchant ships record the number of guns they mount. This form has undergone little change over the years, pointing up what is true of many government forms: They are based on outdated or outmoded laws. The requirement that merchant ships report on guns they mount dates back to 1790. No change has been made to simplify the reporting forms—and so the paperwork mounts.

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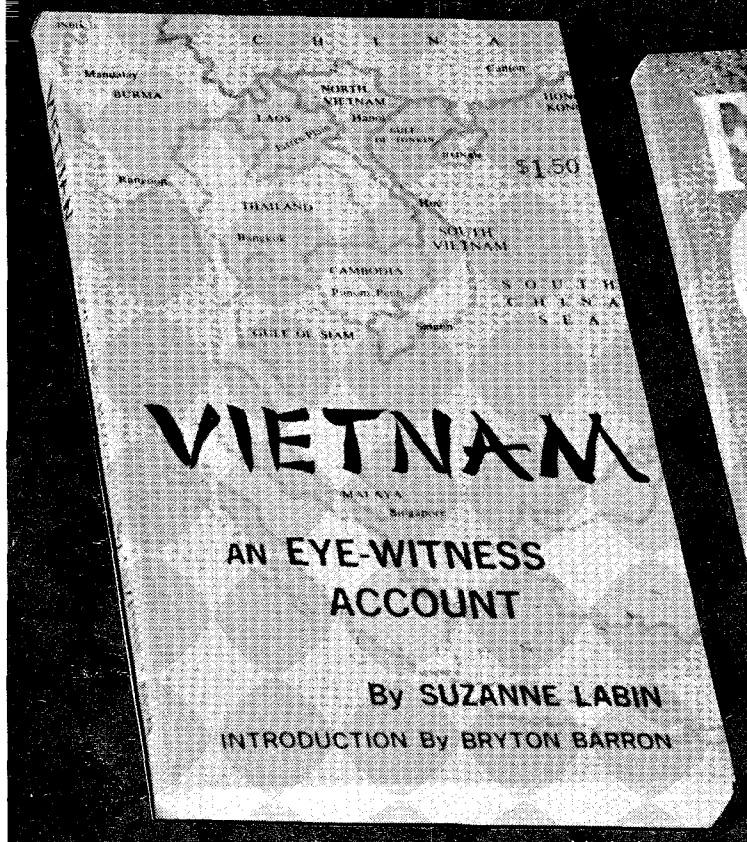

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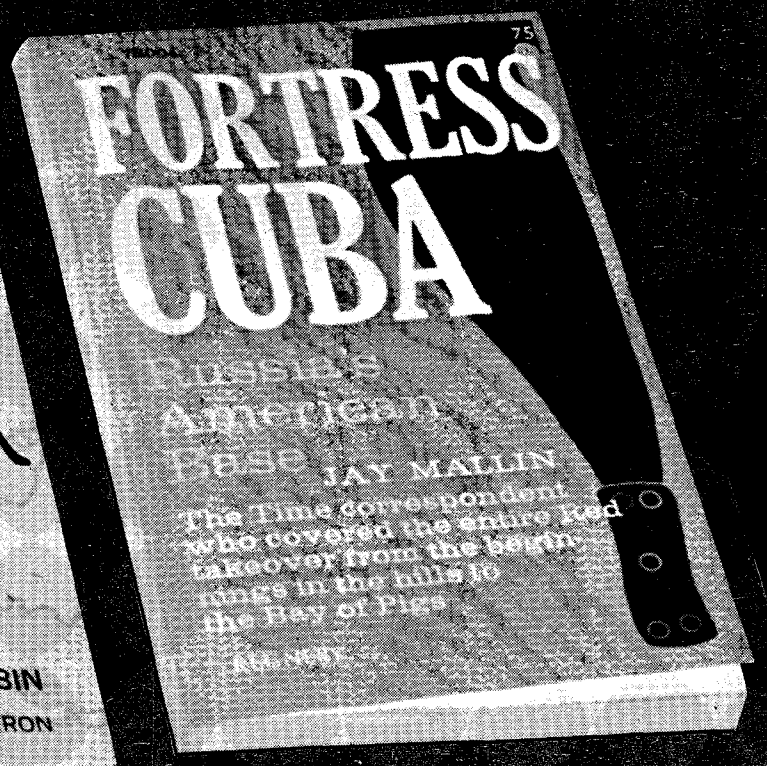

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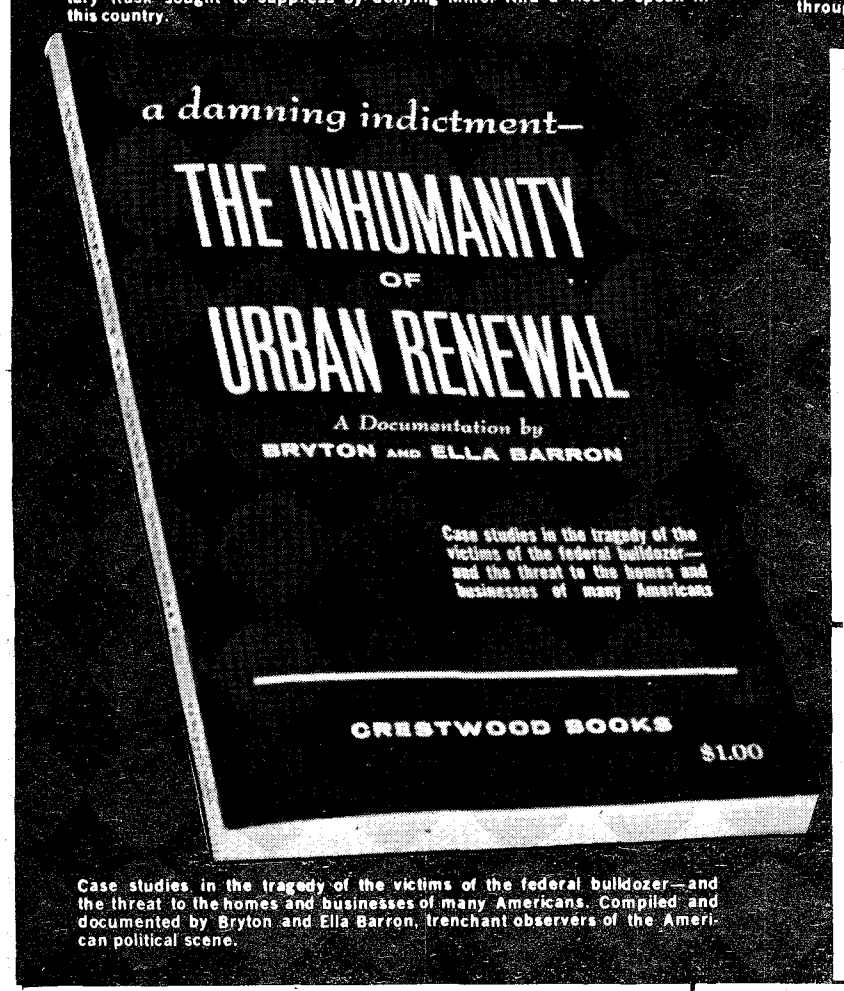

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